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WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE

By WILLIAM ELLERY LEONARD

They say that such thy selflessness in giving
Selves to thy creatures and rich everydays,
Thy self escapes us, whilst those selves be living—
They say, and saying do intend thy praise.
Not so. Thou Life—most life, begetting life—
So gav'st thy lineaments to king and clown,
Thy pitch of voice, thy bent at love or strife,
Thy tricks of walking, or of sitting down,
That were some guest who knew thy progeny
Met at the Mermaid with thy band and Ben,
He'd know the corner-chair that compassed thee,
And name the Shakespeare of those merry men,
Even had he never seen thy pictured dust—
The Folio's graven brass, the Stratford bust.

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SPENSER AS A FABULIST

By LOUIS S. FRIEDLAND

(*Continued from Volume 12, No. 2*)

We have now to consider the fables in Spenser's remaining Minor Poems. These are few in number; indeed, outside of the fables in *Mother Hubberds Tale,* the animals referred to in the poems belong to the realm of natural history rather than to the land of Aesop. For instance, the fox and the badger in the *Ruines of Time:*

> "He now is gone, the whiles the foxe is crept
> Into the hole the which the badger swept." (ll. 216-17)[203]

are almost certainly borrowed from Bartholomaeus Anglicus. A simile of the Aesopic type concerning a fox and lambs occurs in *Muiopotmos* (ll. 401-07), but it is developed in the epic manner of the Homeric simile rather than in the story form of the fable. The mock-epic about the Spider and the Fly (*Muiopotmos*) is Ovidian in fable and in its treatment modeled after the fable of "The Flea and the Man."[204] The theme is very common in Elizabethan poetry,[205] Spenser himself treating it again in *Amoretti LXXI.* Besides John Heywood's prodigiously long "The Spider and the Fly," which our poet, omnivorous reader though he was, may well have hesitated to wade through, Thomas Churchyard relates a pleasantly whimsical tale about the Spider and the Gout, the subject of one of La-Fontaine's sharply satirical fables. And in one of his sonnets Gascoigne writes:

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203 *De Proprietatibus Rerum* (Berthelet's ed., 1535), Bk. XVIII, chap. 103. A modernized version of the passage reads as follows: "The fox doth fight with the brock (badger) for dens, and defileth the brock's den, and hath so the mastery over him with fraud and deceit, and not by strength." (Robert Steele, *Medieval Lore,* London, 1893, last page).

204 Jacobs, *op. cit.,* I. 258 (analogues); II. 212. St.-Marc Girardin, *op. cit.,* I. 244-45, where the victor over the Lion (see the fable of the Lion and the Fly, below) is caught in the toils of a spider's web.

205 Percy W. Long's "Spenser's *Muiopotmos*" *MLR* IX. (1914), p. 462. For further parallels see those cited by H. E. Rollins in his edition of *Tottel's Miscellany,* II. 181-82, and Nos. 67 and 68 in the text. Also Eugène Scève, *Délie* (1554), no. 332. In Ward, *Catalogue of Romances,* II. 362, the Spider delivers a moral discourse to the Fly and ends by catching him; II. 366, a conversation between a Spider and a Bee caught in the Spider's web.

"The thriftless thred which pampred beauty spinnes
In thraldom binds the foolish gazing eyes:
As cruell Spiders with their crafty ginnes
In worthless webbes doe snare the simple Flies."[206]

Most of the Sonnets in *The Visions of the Worlds Vanitie* draw their themes from such works as the *Physiologus* and from emblem literature, and the last of the series is "historical"; but several appear to be of fable origin. There are two versions of the gadfly's exploits in overcoming a large and ferocious animal: in one it is the Bull ("The Bull and the Brize,"[207] Sonnet II), and in the other the Lion ("The Lion and the Wasp,"[208] Sonnet X). Sonnet IV ("The Eagle and the Scarabee") derives from a well-known fable,[209] while Sonnet VIII ("The Elephant and the Ant") may be considered a variation of the fable of the Elephant conquered by the mouse.[210]

Mother Hubberds Tale presents several interesting problems to the student of fable literature. Obviously the poem is a beast-tale belonging to the Reynard cycle in type and treatment; it has the pronounced satiric overtones, social and political, common to the genre. Now, the Reynard stories, whether in prose or verse, did not fail to make free use of fables to give point and zest to the recital. We may expect, therefore, to find elements of fable literature in *Mother Hubberds Tale.*

It is tempting to believe that the title and some of the preliminary circumstances[211] leading to the old wife's tale

206 *Works,* ed. J. W. Cunliffe, I. 332, "A Sonet written in prayse of the browne beautie, etc."

207 Not in Caxton's *Aesop.* Robert, *op. cit.,* I. 123-27. Spenser may have seen it in the Latin of Camerarius' edition, though it appears frequently elsewhere, as Robert's list of analogues shows.

208 Robert, *idem.* St.-Marc Girardin, *ibid.*

209 Jacobs, *op. cit.,* I. 256 (analogues); II. 193 ("The Eagle and Weasel"). Robert, *op. cit.,* I. 120-22, who points out (I. liii) that Aristophanes seems to have received the first suggestion for his play, *Peace,* from this fable, which he often alludes to here and elsewhere. Alciati has it as his Emblem 168.

210 Robert, *op. cit.,* II. 147-148. Cf. *Locrine* (V. i. 83-4): "Have you not seene a mightie elephant Slaine by the biting of a silly mouse?" See, Peter Woodhouse, *The Contention between the Elephant and the Flea, ed. cit.*

211 For the introduction to the *Tale,* Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales* have naturally been suggested as in Spenser's mind. With those who refer also to Boccaccio's *Decamerone* as having influenced our poet's opening lines, I am not in agreement. The parallel seems to me far-fetched, all the more as the black plague visited London often enough in Spenser's days and he knew it as an actuality. I find a closer resemblance to Chaucer's *Proem* to the *Book of the Duchesse,* especially ll. 44-61.

as told by Spenser owe something to a fable related by Sir Thomas More. The poet, oppressed by the summer dog-days and in fear of the pestilence raging at the time, is surrounded by his friends come to comfort him in his distress of body and mind. They take turns at telling stories "to waste the wearie howres."

> "Among the rest a good old woman was,
> Hight Mother Hubberd, who did far surpas
> The rest in honest mirth, that seem'd her well:
> She, when her turne was come her tale to tell,
> Tolde of a strange adventure, that betided
> Betwixt the Foxe and th' Ape by him misguided." (ll. 33-38)

In *A Dialogue of Comfort*[212] Sir Thomas More writes: "My mother had (when I was a little boy) a good old woman that took heed of her children; they called her Mother Maud. . . . She was wont when she sat by the fire with us, to tell us that were children, many childish tales . . . For I remember that among other of her fond childish tales, she told us one that the Ass and the Wolf came on a time to confession to the Fox. . . ."

And in concluding the recital the great Chancellor says: "wherein save for the minishing of old Mother Maud's tale, else would a shorter process have served," which recalls Spenser's closing lines of *Mother Hubberds Tale:*

> "So Mother Hubberd her discourse did end:
> Which pardon me, if I amisse have pend,
> For weake was my remembraunce it to hold,
> And bad her tongue, that it so bluntly tolde."

The Ape in classical literature has been studied by William C. McDermott who writes: "Lucian frequently refers to apes as imitations of heroes; as examples of mimicry; or as the symbol of sycophancy (linked with the fox)."[213] The rôle of the ape in Greek literature is discussed by the same writer,[214] demonstrating that the fables often join ape and fox, the former usually serving as the butt of the fox's

212 *A Dialogue of Comfort and Tribulation,* etc. (1553), in, *English Works,* pp. 1183 ff. My quotation is from the modernized text of P. G. & H. M. Allen, *Selections from Sir Thomas More* (Oxford, 1924), pp. 124 ff.

213 *Op. cit.* p. 174.

214 *Idem,* pp. 175-76.

scorn or the victim of his crafty ruses. So that in linking the two animals Spenser was following sound tradition, both fabular and mock-epical.

As on the continent, satirical literature in England frequently resorted to animals for a convenient and safe disguise.[215] The principle that more or less consciously prompted this device has been aptly put by the German poet Rückert:

> "Aus jedem Tiere guckt ein Stueckchen Mensch hervor,
> Und jedem Menschen jupft die Tierheit noch am Ohr."

Closely resembling man in form and actions is the Ape, so that the expression "whipping the ape,"[216] is in one of its meanings equivalent to "satire" or the satiric spirit, as is evidenced in a passage from John Grange's *Golden Aphroditis:* "But yet what so ever they say, the blinde man may see in this glasse [Grange's book], what apishe wittes women have to investigate by interrogative similitudes the perfect meaning and the sure grounde of their lovers harte: and those whiche have their cleare sight to looke stedfastly herein, shall see perchaunce an Ape whipped, which somwhat may delight him. Whereupon certen yong Gentlemen and those of my professed friends (well viewing this worke) requested me earnestly to have intituled it *A nettle for an Ape.*"[217]

In the Martin Marprelate controversy Martin is often feigned as the Ape,[218] but more nearly akin to *Mother*

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215 Cf. Gabriel Harvey: "They [Herostratus, Parsanias, Kett, Scoggin, Agrippa, Rabelais] can tell parlous Tales of Beares and Foxes, as shrewdlye as Mother Hubbard, for her life."—*Works,* ed. Grosart, I. 205. The background of our poem is given thorough consideration by Arthur Blank Leible, *Conventions of Animal Symbolism and Satire in Spenser's Mother Hubberds Tale* (MS. Diss., University of Chicago Library, 1930). I am indebted to the Chicago University Library for the privilege of reading this thesis, the abstract of which appears in the University Abstracts, Humanistic Series, volume 8, 1929-30, pp. 449 ff. Se also, R. M. Alden, *The Rise of Formal Satire in England* (Philadelphia, 1899), pp. 74-75; E. Greenlaw, "The Sources of Spenser's *Mother Hubberds Tale,*" *Mod. Philol.* II. 1903, 411-32; P. W. Long, *op. cit.,* who suggests as a source Bishop Young's sermon of 1575 where the fable motif is recited.

216 Apperson, *op. cit.,* s. v. 'ape'; Leible, *op. cit.*

217 1577 (facsimile reprint, N. Y., 1937, Scholars' Facsimiles & Reprints), folio A iv *verso,* the Dedicatory Epistle.

218 Leible, *op. cit.* Cf. a citation under *ape* in *NED:* "Visage martyn apen; Folke heo buth, ful eovel y-schapen" *King Alis.* (c. 1300), l. 6464.

Hubberds Tale is the contemporaneous *The English Ape*[219] by William Rankins. One gathers from Martin A. S. Hume's biography of Lord Burghley and his book on "The Courtships of Queen Elizabeth," that the Queen was fond of bestowing upon her courtiers suitable nicknames after the beasts in Aesop. Thus, Burghley she dubbed her "Camel," Hatton her "Sheep," and the Duc d'Alençon was the "Frog," and his personal minister at the Queen's Court, Jehan Simier, was irresistibly named "the Ape." In a letter to the Queen (18 October, 1580) Simier writes: "For I am your ape, you are my creator, my defender, my stay, and my saviour,"[220] which brings to mind Shakspere's line: "This is the ape of form, monsieur the nice."[221]

Spenser's originality lay, not in the invention of the theme or the literary type, but in his handling of them and in the application. With so many influences converging in the poem it is difficult at times to state with assurance that this or the other animal or incident originated in his memories of fables or in his reading of the Reynard cycle of tales. Nevertheless, in parts of the poem the indications are unmistakably clear. The journey of the Ape and the Fox, their long companionship, their many adventures until finally the Ape is raised to a monach's throne while the Fox rules as his Chancellor[222]—all these belong to the Reynard group and have their prototypes there. More closely connected with fable literature is the incident of the Fox (ac-

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219 1588. The lone copy in this country is in the Henry E. Huntington Library. Thanks to Dr. Brice Harris, I am able to give the following brief collation of this copy: "Title-page (verso blank)/A 2 (verso blank) Dedication to Sir Christopher Hatton/pp. 1-24." The work treats of the English aping of Italian customs.

220 *The Courtships of Q. Elizabeth* (rev. ed., N. Y.) p. 232. E. A. Greenlaw in *PMLA*, XXV (1910), 545 ff.

221 *Love's Labour Lost*, V ii. The Ape in post-Spenserian literature, usually indebted to *Mother Hubberds Tale*, is treated by Brice Harris, *The Beast in English Satire from Spenser to Gay* (Harvard Univ. Diss., in MS, 1934) and by the same author in his Introduction to the facsimile edition of Richard Niccols' *Beggers Ape* (1623), issued by Scholars' Facsimiles and Reprints, N. Y., 1937; also by Hoyt H. Hudson, "John Hepwith's Spenserian Satire upon Buckingham; with some Jacobean Analogues." *The Huntington Library Bulletin*, Nov., 1934, pp. 39 ff.

222 The satiric sting of MHT arises from this situation.

companied by the Ape)[223] as shepherd of the Husbandman's flock, which may be derived ultimately from Abstemius' fable no. 148. We know, however, that it is usually the Wolf who plays the rôle of the shepherd, but the Fox sometimes adopts it as one of his numerous disguises.[224] Just such a masking is mentioned in a couplet of the *Mirrour for Magistrates:*

> "The wily Foxe that seekes to slay the sheepe
> Doth fayne himselfe to beare a simple eye."[225]

Nash speaks of the Fox as being "dressed like a shepherd's dog,"[226] and Shakspere in the *Two Gentlemen of Verona* (IV. iv. 87-88) refers to the same fable in aphoristic terms:

> "Alas, poor Proteus! Thou hast entertained
> A fox to be the shepherd of thy lambs."

Another disguise in *Mother Hubberds Tale* is the Ape's assumption of the Lion's royal garb and symbols of authority. The Ape as monarch is the theme of one of Aesop's finest fables, "The Fox, the Ape, and Other Animals,"[227] describing the elevation of the Ape by the votes of the animals, the Fox alone doubting the new king's fitness for the place. The situation has its counterpart in the Reynard cycle, with the Fox in the royal throne. How well the apologue was known appears from allusions to it in Elizabethan plays, *e. g., The Raigne of King Edward the Third* (1596):

> "Decke an ape
> In tissue, and the beautie of the robe
> Adds but the greater scorne unto the beast."[228]

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223 In addition to the instances to be mentioned, the Fox and the Ape are joined in these fables: "The Wolf pleading against the Fox with the Ape as Judge," "The Fox at the Lion's Feast while the Ape serves the Meal," "The Sick Lion eats the Ape at the suggestion of the Fox in his character of Physician," "The Fox and the Ape walking beside a burying ground; when the Ape mourns his ancestors buried there, the Fox ridicules his pretensions," "The Ape elected King of the beasts because he dances well, but comes to grief through the Fox, who persuades him to take the bait in a trap."

224 Common in folk-lore, fables, and the Reynard cycle. In the Japanese *Tale of Genji* (I. 106), occurs the following: "One or the other of us must be a fox in disguise," to which the translator, Arthur Waley, appends this note: "Foxes, dressed up as men, were believed to be in the habit of seducing and bewitching human beings."

225 I. 292, *C. Drusus,* st. 5.

And in Kyd's *Spanish Tragedy:*

> "He hunted well that was a Lyon's death,
> Not he that in a garment wore his skin:
> So Hares may pull dead Lyons by the beard."[229]

The subject was an enticement to aphorists, who responded with many variations. Lucian refers to such a proverb: "An ape is still an ape, says the proverb, though his trappings be of gold."[230] And to the same effect Erasmus: "Simia est simia, etiamsi purpurâ vestiatur,"[231] which Taverner rendered as "An ape is an ape, although she weare badges of golde,"[232] and Barnabe Googe remembered as "An ape wyll ever be an ape, though purple garments hyde,"[233] and a Commendatory Poem gives as "Yet shall you finde an Ape an Ape, in purple be she clothde,"[234] and Puttenham quotes as a "Proverbe: an ape will be an ape, by kinde as they say, though that ye clad him all in purple aray."[235]

It has been often pointed out that the Ape's donning of the Lion's robes, in *Mother Hubberds Tale,* is reminiscent of the apologue of "The Ass in Lion's Skin," alluded to by a host of sixteenth-century writers, and one of the oldest of recorded fables.[236] Finally, the clipping of the Ape's ears and the loss of his tail have their source in fable collections, though it is the Fox who there loses his tail.[237] In the apologue of "The Fox and the Ape"[233] the latter, whom Spenser represents as possessing a tail at one time, asks his companion "to give him some of his great tail for to cover his buttocks therewith." In this connection one recalls the

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226 Ed., McKerrow, I. 224.

227 Robert, *op. cit.,* pp. 14-5 of vol. II; Aesop, 29; Faerno, 75; Marie de France, 22; Corrozet, 63; Haudent, 39, 227; Verdizotti, 73.

228 II. i. 444-45

229 I. ii. 170-73.

230 Trans., Fowler, III. 267: *Adversus indoctum.*

231 *Moriae Encomium.*

232 *Proverbs,* 1539.

233 *Eclogs,* etc., 1563 (ed. Arber), p. 40.

234 Munday (?), Dedicatory Poem to Grange's *Golden Aphroditis* (1577).

235 *English Poesie* (ed. Arber), p. 211.

236 Jacobs, *op. cit.,* I. 259 (a long list of analogues); II. 219. Robert, *op. cit.,* I. 360 ff. H. T. Archibald, "The Fable in Horace," *Transactions of Amer. Philol. Assoc.* XLI (1910), pp. xiv ff.

237 Jacobs, *op. cit.,* I. 248; II. 94. Robert, *op. cit.,* I. 313. But cf. "Even as the ape wanteth a tale," (*The Returne from Parnassus, I,* ed. W. D. Macray, Oxf., 1886, p. 43).

238 Jacobs, *idem,* II. 94.

proverb in Bacon's *Promus:* "The higher the ape goes, the more he shows his tail,"[239] which the poet may well have had in mind in the concluding lines of his work. The clipping of the Ape's ears is again an intentional confusion with the Ass who lost his ears in the fable of "The Ass and the Gardener." Altogether, Spenser makes the Ape's fate a warning that "a lyons skinne was never bought good cheap."[240]

There is further Aesopic material in Spenser's satire, though I am unable to understand W. L. Renwick's assertion that "the last episode (ll. 942 to the end) is devised as an Aesopic beast-fable of the ordinary kind."[241] This appears to be an extreme simplification of the best part of *Mother Hubberds Tale,* where the elements of the fable are really limited to a few episodes. The gayly bedecked, pompous Mule is the proud beast of Aesop's "The Two Mules,"[242] or Doni's "Moyle,"[243] and, very likely, the proud mule of Reformation satire.[244] The Sheep and the Ass smitten with dread at sight of the royally apparalled Ape (ll. 1068 ff.) is in fabular vein,[245] while the attack of the Tiger and the Boar on the Camel (ll. 1087 ff.) is paralleled in Doni's *Moral Philosophie* as translated by North.[246] The Sheep, the Lamb, and the Wolf (ll. 1205 ff.) whose quarrel is submitted to the Fox as judge, may[247] have been borrowed from any one, or all, of four Aesopic fables: most of all it resembles, with a natural inversion to suit the situation in the poem, the apologue of the Fox pleading against the Wolf before the Ape sitting in judgment.[248]

We conclude, therefore, that Spenser had free recourse to the Aesopic collections, whether in English or in Latin, in the development of his satiric beast-tale. As a literary type

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239 c. 1594, p. 309, no. 924.

240 Cotgrave (1611), *s. v. Lyon.*

241 Ed. of *Complaints* (London, 1928), p. 231.

242 Robert, *op. cit.,* I. 16-23. Robert notes the correspondences in Aesop, Phaedrus, Romulus, and Faerno; as well as a number of French and Italian analogues.

243 Ed., Jacobs, pp. 93-4; the Fox, hearing the sound of mule-bells is afraid; which seeing, he fears no longer.

244 Leible, *op. cit.*

245 Jacobs, *idem.*

246 *Ibid,* pp. 153 ff.

247 Cf. Robert Browning, *The Ring and the Book* (Cambridge ed. of Works), p. 436, col. 2:

> "When once authority has knit the brow
> And set the brain behind it to decide
> Between the wolf and sheep turned litigants."

the satire was not of fixed form; it was able to incorporate ingredients from a variety of sources; it did not have to submit to the restrictions of *decorum*.

On the contrary, the Renaisance notion of *decorum* with regard to epic poetry admitted of no departure from its peculiar laws. I say "peculiar" because the rules of *decorum* as set by Boiardo, Ariosto, and Tasso permitted of wide lattitude. The epic was almost an *omnium gatherum* of the Muse's inventions, yet it was understood to bar the more homely sorts of themes and styles poetic. It might include the pastoral, nobly treated; it had room for the panegyric and the personal strain; it welcomed the proverb and the simile, however native and close to the soil, but it shut out the humble fable. Aesop was unknown to the epic poets when they served Clio, that high and stately goddess.

It follows, therefore, that Aesopic fables are absent from the *Faerie Queene*. Occasionally one comes upon a passage which seems to carry a memory of some fable, but it is difficult to discover whether the source is in the natural history of the day or in folk lore, or in the epic similes of Homer and Virgil, or in emblem literature. Such connection with fables that these may have are in the nature of vestigial remains. Of fables related *per se,* the *Faerie Queene* is wholly innocent. The wolf, fox, lion, sheep, lamb, and some of the other animals beloved of Aesop are, indeed, mentioned, but usually in a figure of speech, a simile, to illustrate the actions of men.[249] The sick lion at II. i. xlii brings a faint recollection of one of the fables,[250] as does the lion in the hunter's toils (IV. iv. xxxii).[251] The fable of "The Falconer and the Birds"[252] is recalled by the following aphoristic passage:

> "The bird that knowes not the false fowlers call,
> Into the hidden nett full easely doth fall."[253]

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248 Jacobs, *op. cit.,* I. 242; II. 57. Robert, *op. cit.,* I. 102.

249 *E. g.,* I. vi. x. 3-9; IV. iv. xxxv. 6-8; V. xii. xxxviii. 5-6. I do not claim to have been exhaustive in my search for fable remains or vestiges in the *Faerie Queene,* but I believe that only a close study of Spenser's similes and proverbs will reveal such buried fable elements, if any exist.

250 Jacobs, *op. cit.,* II. 22.

251 *Idem,* p. 26.

252 *Idem,* p. 110.

253 Jacobs, *op. cit.,* I. 250 (analogues); II. 113. Robert, *op. cit.,* I. 266-73.

The other beasts and birds of Spenser's epic belong to a species unknown to the primitive Uncle Remus.

A View of Ireland contains two fables, both put into the mouth of Irenaeus and occurring in consecutive harangues. The first of these is the fable of "the Horse, the Hunter, and the Stag:"[253] "It will be like the tale in Eesope of the wilde horse, who, having enmytie against the stagg, came to a man to desire his aide against the enemye, who yielding thereunto mounted upon his back, and so following the Stagg ere long slew him, but then when the horse woulde have him alight he refused, but kept him ever after in his service and subjection."[254]

The other, the apologue of "the Snake and the Husbandman,"[255] is related even more briefly: "and now he [Shane O'Neal] playeth like the frozen snake, who being for compassion relieved by the husbandman, soone after he was warme began to hisse, and threaten danger even to him and his."[256] The fable is of long-standing interest to English writers. Chaucer cites its Aesopic moral in his *Tale of Melibaeus;*[257] Whitney has it for one of his *Emblemes;*[258] Shakspere offers at least three allusions to the fable:

> "Snakes in my heart-blood warm'd, that sting my heart!"[259]

and,

> "Forget to pity him, lest thy pity prove
> A serpent that will sting thee to the heart,"[260]

and finally,

> "I fear me, you but warm the starved snake,
> Who, cherish'd in your breasts, will sting your hearts."[261]

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254 *Works,* ed. Grosart, IX. 174.

255 Jacobs, *op. cit.,* I. 254 (analogues); II. 144. Robert, *op. cit.,* II. 32-33. W. A. Clouston, *Popular Tales and Fictions* (Edinb., London, 1887), I. 262.

256 *Works,* ed. Grosart, IX. 175.

257 *Works* (1 vol. ed. Skeat), p. 512, col. 2.

258 *Op. cit.,* p. 189. The editor, Henry Green, refers to Arnold Freitag's *Mythologia Ethica,* p. 77, and Reusner's *Emblemata* (1581), p. 81.

259 *Richard II,* III. ii. 131.

260 *Idem,* V. iii. 57-58

261 *2 Henry VI.,* III. i. 343-44.

In *A Looking Glasse for London* (1598) we find this passage:

> "He plaies the Serpent right, describ'd in Aesopes tale,
> That sought the Fosters death that lately gave him life."[262]

And Bacon speaks of "the husbandman whereof Aesop makes the fable."[263]

This brings to a close our study of "Spenser and the fable." The conclusions can be summarized briefly. Spenser is typical of his age in his knowledge of the Aesopic apologues (having almost certainly acquired them first in his early years of schooling) and in his addiction to the habit of quoting and alluding to them on every fitting occasion. While the prevailing notions of literary *decorum*—to whose odd tenets he adhered strictly—barred the fable from epic or "lyric" poetry, it was definitely at home in pastoral and satiric verse, and Spenser made the most of the opportunity in both kinds. Indeed, were a modern artist to draw illustrations for the *Shepheardes Calender* and *Mother Hubberds Tale,* he would discover the liveliest suggestions and themes in the fable elements in these two works. Such an illustrated edition would, in a measure, strike the eye a pictured Aesop.

We may claim for Spenser the position of the foremost *English* fabulist of his time. Not only does he make a fairly considerable contribution to the genre, but his "the Oak and the Briar" and "the Fox and the Kid" take high rank as original fable creations in verse.

LOUIS S. FRIEDLAND.

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262 III. ii. 1121-22.
263 *Adv. of Learning* (1605), I. iv. sec. 11.

THE MEDIEVAL ELEMENT IN SHAKSPERE*

By GEORGE C. TAYLOR

ANY book that succeeds in establishing relations of extraordinary significance between a literary figure of Shakspere's distinction and Medieval literature is an important work. Farnham has succeeded in establishing such relations. Scholars in both the Medieval and Elizabethan fields, even when not agreeing with all of the writer's implications and conclusions, will find the book indispensable.

Though much has been written by scholars about the medieval heritage of Elizabethan tragedy, Farnham is the first to state and treat the problem in its most significant aspects. By avoiding the exhaustive bibliographical method, he has succeeded also in presenting his material in delightfully readable form. His discussion of all the important æsthetic and philosophical aspects of Elizabethan and Shaksperian tragedy against the medieval backgrounds illumines and enriches each in turn. From obscure origins through the Elizabethan period up to Shakspere, he traces such fundamental matters as the following: the nature of the hero (pp. 19, 89, 95), the nature of his tragic flaw (pp. 83, 84, 88, 167), freewill as necessary for tragic struggle (pp. 10, 13, 15, 19), the hero's responsibility for his fall (pp. 102, 133, 283), the interest of the author in the justice of tragic consequences rather than in their accidental nature (pp. 95, 97, 201, 221, 229, 360, 378), the relation of cause and effect in the series of tragic events (p. 309), tragedy framing itself within the limits of birth to death, or pitching emphasis forward to life after death (pp. 162, 193, 300), the drift from the tragedy of "everyman" to the tragedy of each man highly individualized, ability of the hero to save himself from tragic consequence by his own powers or only by God's favor. The writer unifies all these matters by keeping always before the reader the gradual shift from "contempt of life" to "espousal of life" and the effect of these two attiattitudes on life on the nature of tragedy, and shows how all are better for having been dipped in the medieval dye

*Willard Farnham, *The Mediaeval Heritage of Elizabethan Tragedy*, Berkeley, The University of California Press, 1936, pp. xiv, 488; 15 ils, $5.00.

as they passed through the Middle Ages on their way from the Greek and Roman periods to the Elizabethan era.

Indispensable as Farnham's work undeniably is, it leaves unsettled (perhaps rightly) two matters of great importance, all the more important because Farnham's work always points to Shaksperian tragedy. The first is a statement of the work already done by scores of scholars on the medieval heritage of Shakspere; the second, the statement of the case for the medieval contempt of life in all the highest points of Shaksperian tragedy, as against the Elizabethan love of life.

As to the first, since neither Farnham, nor any other scholar seeking to point out the medieval heritage in Shakspere, has related his work to that of the others seeking to do the same thing, it is well to do it now.[1]

As early as 1767 Richard Farmer (in his *Essay on the Learning of Shakspere*) discussed Chaucer, Gower, Lydgate, and *Piers Plowman* as throwing light on Shakspere's fact and form. The main editions of Shakspere from Pope to Furness, in their inquiries into immediate and ultimate sources, considered medieval works both as to fact and form. Previous to 1900, Henry Green,[2] K. Simrock,[3] and John A. Symonds,[4] related Shakspere to medievalism.

From 1900 on the contributions relating to Shakspere's debt to the Middle Ages come thick and fast. There are studies by L. M. Cushman,[5] S. Singer,[6] D. Ballman,[7] Charles L. Kingford,[8] and R. K. Root.[9] As early as 1904, A. C.

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[1]See also John E. Wells, *A Manual of the Writings in Middle English: 1050-1400,* New Haven: Yale University Press, 1926, pp. 26, 138, 224, 318, 400, 694, and the supplements.

[2]*Shakespeare and the Emblem Writers,* London: 1870.

[3]*Die Quellen des Shakespeare in Novellen, Märchen und Sagen,* Bonn: 1870.

[4]*Shakespeare's Predecessors in the English Drama,* London: 1884, p. 151.

[5]*The Devil and the Vice in English Dramatic Literature before Shakespeare,* Halle: Niemeyer, 1900.

[6]"Ueber die physiologischen Grundlagen der Shakespeareschen Psychologie," *Jahrbuch der Deutschen Shakespeare-Gesellschaft,* XXVI (1900), 65-90.

[7]*Chaucers Einfluss auf das Englische Drama im Zeitalter der Königin Elisabeth und der Beiden ersten Stuart Könige, Strassburg dissertation,* 1901. See further Eleanor Hammond, *A Chaucer Bibliography.*

As Shakspere's *Troilus and Cressida* is now called a "tragedy," articles dealing with medieval elements in that play are not listed here.

[8]*Henry V, the Typical Medieval Hero,* New York: Putnam's, 1901.

[9]*Classical Mythology in Shakespeare,* New York: Holt, 1903.

Bradley[10] says: "Shakespeare's idea of the tragic fact is larger than this [the medieval idea] and goes beyond it; but it includes it." G. C. Taylor[11] calls attention to the presence in *Richard III* (IV, iv. 91 ff.) of the Middle English "ubi sunt." J. H. Hanford[12] shows medieval relationships with Renaissance drama. Later Hanford[13] published an article in the same vein. Edward Dowden[14] speaks of a "crude psychology of the Middle Ages" as the basis of Elizabethan psychology. C. W. Wallace[15] refers to Shakspere's inheritance of native dramatic traditions. C. H. Conley[16] finds ten of "the fifteen signs of judgment in Shakspere. In 1915, James F. Royster[17] called attention to the three lamenting women in *Richard III,* as related to the laments of the three Marys in the mystery plays. In 1916 appeared contributions relating Shakspere to medieval matters by Frank A. Patterson,[18] John Erskine,[19] H. W. Withington.[20] The 1920's saw many more similar contributions. D. T. Starnes[21] finds echoes in Shakspere of the medieval elegy. Janet Spens[22] sees relations of shakspere to medieval drama in her *Elizabethan Drama.* Margaret M. Beck[23] deals with "The Dance of Death in Shakespeare." Felix Schelling[24] calls attention to the fascination of medieval Italy for Elizabethan dramatists. E. E. Kellet[25] contributes "Some Medievalisms in Shake-

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[10]*Shakespearean Tragedy,* p. 9.

[11]*The Relation of the English Corpus Christi Play to the Middle English Lyric, MP,* V (107), 10.

[12]*The Origin and Development of the Allegorical Debate in Medieval Literature,* Harvard dissertation, 1909.

[13]"The Debate Element in Elizabethan Drama," *Anniversary Papers by Colleagues and Pupils of George Lyman Kittredge,* 1913.

[14]"Elizabethan Psychology," *Essays, Modern and Elizabethan,* 1910, pp. 306-333.

[15]*The Evolution of the English Drama Up to Shakespeare,* Berlin, 1912, p. 91; p. 185 note.

[16]"An Instance of the Fifteen Signs of Judgment in Shakespeare," *MLN,* XXX (1915), 41 ff.

[17]*MLN,* XXV, 173 (1915).

[18]*Shakespeare and the Medieval Lyric,* (Shakespeare studies, Department of English, Columbia University, 1916.

[19]*The Elizabethan Lyric,* New York, Columbia University, 1916.

[20]"Witchcraft and Magic in the Elizabethan Drama," *Journal of American Folklore,* XXXII (1919), 447-485. This study was completed as a Harvard dissertation in 1916.

[21]*Bibliographical History of the funeral Elegy in England 1500 to 1638,* University of Chicago dissertation, 1920.

[22]*Elizabethan Drama,* London: Metheun, 1922.

[23]*MLN,* XXXVII (1922), 372-374.

[24]*Foreign influences in Elizabethan Plays,* New York, 1923.

[25]*Suggestions: Literary Essays,* Cambridge, 1923.

speare;" W. J. Lawrence[26] says: "but Shakespeare happened to be writing for the medieval-minded."[27] Marshall Montgomery[28] suggests Lydgate matter as a source of the *Hamlet* Gonzago story. Pauline Taylor[29] relates *Macbeth* matter to Middle English. Murray W. Bundy[30] points out the Elizabethan inheritance of medieval psychology. Richard Jente[31] establishes medieval relations of the proverb to Shakspere. L. J. Mills[32] shows the important relations between the medieval treatments of friendship and Elizabethan tragedy. Robert Withington[33] shows "The Development of the 'Vice'" in Elizabethan drama. Ruth Anderson[34] notes the presence of medieval natural philosophy in Shakspere. Murray W. Bundy[35] has something to say about Shakspere's use of medieval thought. In *Speculum,*[36] Lynn Thorndike writes about "The Survival of Medieval Intellectual Interests into Early Modern Times"; (intellectual interests are inextricably intertwined with tragic interests); he remarks, "The good old medieval teaching of dialectic received severe punishment at the hands of Renaissance critics, but it appears to have taken it all and come back smiling."[37] *Hamlet* is of course master of dialectics. D. C. Stewart[38] says: "The medieval influence overshadows all others in Shakespeare's chronicle plays or histories," "Shakspere's art was a combination of medieval and Italian elements;"[39] and, perhaps echoing Walt Whitman's "Shakspeare was uncompromising medievalism," he adds: "The backwardness of English drama until recent years was due to a good extent to the blind worship of a great genius who wrote for the medieval stage."[40] In 1928, Gregor von Glass-

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26"The Ghost in Hamlet," *Nineteenth Century,* XCV (1924), 370-377.

27*Ibid.*

28"Lydgate's 'Fall of Princes' and Hamlet," *TLS,* Oct. 16, 1924, p. 651.

31*The Proverbs of Shakespeare with Early and Contemporary Parallels, Washington University Studies* (Humanistic Series), XXII (1925-26), 391-444.

32*The Renaissance Development in England of the Classical Ideas about Friendship,* University of Chicago dissertation, 1925-26, published as *One Soul in Bodies Twain,* Indiana University Press. 1937.

33"The Development of the 'Vice,'" *Essays in Memory of Barrett Wendell,* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 192,6 pp. 155-167.

34*Elizabethan Psychology and Shakespeare's Plays,* Iowa City, 1927.

35*The Theory of the Imagination in Classical and Medieval Thought* (University of Illinois Studies in Language and Literature), 1927, pp. 56, 11, 165, 226, 235.

36*Speculum,* II (1927), 146 ff.

37*Ibid.,* p. 155.

38*The Development of Dramatic Art,* New York: Appleton, 1928, p. 220.

39*Ibid.,* p. 221.

40*Ibid.,* p. 240.

nopp,[41] goes back to medieval demonology to explain Shakspere. H. C. Lake[41] finds at least fourteen of Shakspere's plays based on important folklore incidents, many of which he finds to be medieval. In 1929, Beatrice D. Brown[43] published "Medieval Prototypes of Lorenzo and Jessica," one of a series of articles relating Shakspere to the medieval *exempla*. Herman Cohen[44] thinks Shakspere may have known the *promptorum Parvulorum* (*c.* 1440) of Geoffrey of Lynn.

In 1931 Israel Gollancz[45] (posthumous papers) discusses medieval matter related to Elizabethan conceptions of the tragic; "Shakespeare," he says elsewhere,[46] "and to some extent Marlowe before him, rediscovered that freedom which characterized the Old English metre and imposed it upon his alien blank verse."[47] Helen J. Crossen[48] contends for an important contribution of the medieval conception of death to Shakspere. In 1932, Miss Effie Mackinnon,[49] compares the York cycle with Shakspere's chronicles as to epic qualities. G. C. Taylor[50] shows Shakspere's use of a considerable number of medieval theological allusions. Miss Dorothy Norris[51] contributes *Saints Legends in Major English Poets* from Chaucer to Shakspere. W. C. Curry[52] contends for a large debt of Shakspere to medieval metaphysics. F. T. Wood[53] says: "The Ghosts which appear to Brutus and Richard III are merely more elaborate and artistic developments of Death, who comes to summon Everyman to his

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29"Birnam Wood: 700 A. D.-1600 A. D.," *MLN,* XXIX (1924), 244-247.

30"Shakespeare and Elizabethan Psychology," *JEGP,* XXIII (1924), 516-549.

41"Die Demonologie in Shakespeares *Macbeth: Die Hexen," Shakespeare Jahrbuch,* LXIV (1928), 63-76.

42"Some Folklore Incidents in Shakespeare," XXXIX (1928), 307-328.

43"Medieval Prototypes of Lorenzo and Jessica," *MLN,* XLIV (1929), 227-232.

44"The Seven Ages of Man," *TLS,* Jan. 30, 1930, p.

45*Allegory and Mysticism in Shakespeare, a Medievalist in the Merchant of Venice,* London, 1931, pp. 13-34, 34-43, 45-68.

46*The Middle Ages in the Lineage of English Poetry,* London, n. d.

47*Ibid.,* p. 17.

48*The Treatment of Death in the History Plays of Shakespeare,* University of North Carolina manuscript dissertation, 1931.

49"Notes on the Dramatic structure of the York Cycle," *SP,* XXVIII (1931), 433-439.

50"Some Patristic Conventions Common to Shakespeare and Milton," *SP,* XXVIII (1931), 652-655.

41"Die Dämonologie in Shakespeares*Macbeth: Die Hexen," Shakespeare Jahrbuch,*

52"Tumbling Nature's Germens," *SP* XXIX (1932), 15-28; "The Demoniac Metaphysics of *Macbeth," SP,* XXX (1933), 395-426.

53"The Supernatural in Shakespeare's Drama," *Rev. Ang. Am.,* IX (1932), 200-217.

maker."[54] Douglass Bush[55] refers frequently to the Renaissance debt to the Middle Ages. In 1933 H. K. Russell[56] investigated the use of medieval backgrounds of Elizabethan natural philosophy by Shakspere. Howard Baker[57] adds "Ghosts and Guides: Kyd's *Spanish Tragedy* and the medieval Tragedy." J. W. Spargo[58] connected a tragic detail of *Richard III* with the Middle Ages. Other contributions relating Shaksperian tragedy to the Middle Ages are made by M. C. Bradbrook,[59] Beatrice D. Brown,[60] J. E. Budd, and Robert Withington, Alfred Hart[63] and Theodore Spencer.[64] Spencer's book is comparable to Farnham's.

The second matter demanding clarification here is the statement of the case for the medieval contempt of the supposedly Elizabethan love of life in Shaksperian tragedy. Space permits only a glance here at one of the many matters making the case for the medieval,—a glance at the high point and end of Shakspere's greatest tragedies. If the medieval is cut out, the peak of Shaksperian tragedy is lost. The end of *Richard III* shows Richard damned, Richmond saved by spirits. *Macbeth* (*Richard III* virtually redone) uses the same medieval machinery, with Macbeth's own illuminating comment: "mine eternal jewel [his soul] given to the common enemy [the devil] of man." *Macbeth,* often referred to as the most Greek of Shakspere's tragedies (true perhaps), is also the most medieval. Shakspere has the Nurse lamenting over the supposed dead body of Juliet, saying snatches of the great *dies irae* of the middle ages. In IV, v, 50-55, Shakspere refers to medieval charnel houses, worms, rattling bones and rotting flesh, with lurid beauty in demonstrating Juliet's childish fears and womanly courage as she drinks the potion (IV, I, 80-85; IV, iii,

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54*Ibid.*

55*Mythology and the Renaissance Tradition in English Poetry,* Minneapolis, 1932.

56"Elizabethan Dramatic Poetry in the Light of Natural Philosophy," *PQ,* XII (1933), 187-195; "Tudor and Stuart Dramatizations of the Doctrines of Natural and Moral Philosophy," *SP,* XXXI (1933), 1-27.

57"Ghosts and Guides: Kyd's *Spanish Tragedy* and the Medieval Tragedy," *MP,* XXXIII (1925), 26-27.

58"Clarence and the Malmsey Butt," *MLN,* LI (1936), 66-73.

59*Themes and Conventions in Elizabethan Tragedy,* New York,

60"Exemplum Materials Underlying *Macbeth*," *PMLA,* L, 700 ff.

61"Shakespeare, Chaucer, and Harsnett," *RES,* XI, 421 ff.

62"The Continuity of Dramatic Development," *SAB,* X, 73-81.

63*Shakespeare and the Homilies,* Melbourne University Press, 1934.

64*The Treatment of Death in Elizabethan Drama,* Cambridge, 1934.

3, 36-58), and lets the tragic heroine in her last words stress the triumph over the grave," to help [her] after." Even more medieval are Romeo's last words,

> Here, here will I remain
> With worms that are thy chambermaids.

Brutus, at the point of death, phrases best a medieval commonplace,

> My bones have labored but to attain this hour [of death].

Othello, just before his death, imagines himself in a Hell as Medieval as Dante's or Milton's:

> This look of thine will hurl my Soul from heaven
> And fiends will snatch at it" (V, II, 273-280) . . .
> Blow me about in winds; roast me in sulphur,
> Wash me in steep gulfs of liquid fire,

and concludes, looking at Iago,

> Demand that demi-devil,
> Why he hath thus ensnar'd my soul and body. (V, II, 301)

Lear, rightly caled pagan, with not one reference to Christian divinities, has Lear himself imagine

> a thousand with burning spits come hissing in upon me.
> (III, vi, 16)

At what is perhaps the hight point of Shakspere's artistic use of catharsis, he surely uses the medieval conception of the joys of heaven and the pains of hell as Lear wakes from madness to behold Cordelia:

> Thou art a soul in bliss [an angel in heaven]; but
> I am bound
> Upon a wheel of fire, that mine own tears
> Do scald like moulten lead. (IV, vi, 46, 47)

Over the dying Hamlet Horatio remarks,

> Good night, sweet prince;
> And flights of angels sing thee to thy rest. (V, ii, 370)

This last emphasis in *Hamlet* on the life in the next world rather than this, suggests that Farnham, while writing an extremely valuable book, has not, of course, settled many of the important problems he has raised. Contrary to Farnham's suggestions, the important tragedies close with em-

phasis on the insignificance and wretchedness of life here and now. Macbeth concludes that it is

> a tale told by an idiot,
> Signifying nothing.

For most of his heroes, and indeed for most of his villains, life has become a kind of attenuated torture at the end. Instances could be multiplied of characters leaving life not simply without regret to leave it, but with positive delight:

> *Juliet:* O churl, drunk all [the poison] and left no friendly drop
> To help me after.
>
> *Hamlet* [to *Horatio*]:
> Absent thee from felicity [death] awhile,
> And in this harsh world draw thy breath in pain.
>
> *Othello:* Why should Othello live?
>
> *Kent* [of *Lear*]:
> He hates him that would upon the rack
> Of this tough world Stretch him out longer.
> (V, iii, 3, 313, 14)
>
> *Cleopatra:*
> and it is great
> To do that thing that ends all other deeds;
> Which shackles accidents and bolts up change,
> Which sleeps and palates never more the dung [life].
> (V, ii, 4-8).

Nothing else contributes so greatly to the sublimest heights of Shaksperian tragedy as "contempt of life."

Lastly, Farnham, had he been given greater space in which to treat his subject, would doubtless have been obliged to qualify some of his general statements, particularly regarding "the last of the Elizabethans" (rightly or wrongly so called), and perhaps the second greatest artist and poet as well as Puritan, who demands an accounting in this connection:

"Contempt of the world as a common exercise," he says, "died in the seventeenth century because man by this time had killed his lingering fears (except for revivals by Puritans or ascetic sects.") (p. 40). In Milton, who shows less "fear" of any sort than other English poets, contempt of the world runs its most interesting course. Like men in all ages who have been overwhelmed by exceptional, inescapable failure and evils, who save themselves from insanity

or suicide in striving for an adjustment to their situation, he turned (so to speak) to his Marcus Aurelius or Boethius. His early poems are a record of his steering with even keel between espousal and contempt of life. The *Areopogitica* period shows his nearest approach to espousal. *Paradise Lost* shows signs of falling back upon Contempt of life to make it endurable. *Paradise Regained* is the greatest debate in existence between espousal (Satan) and contempt (Christ), Christ overwhelming Satan. *Samson* finally throws all the emphasis on "contempt of the world."

An otherwise beautifully printed book is occasionally marred by "poor justification" (pp. 342, 364, 382, 397). Perhaps also because of the printing, an occasional sentence is not stylistically or syntactically as nearly perfect as others (pp. 67, 81, 99, 419).

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MACBETH AS A MORALITY

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SHAKSPERE'S early environment was in no sense circumscribed or limited in the possibilities of seeing and hearing dramatic performances. It was only twelve miles from Stratford to Coventry and in Coventry was to be seen what was most likely the fullest and finest of all the cycles of scripture plays in England. Here and, no doubt, elsewhere, the youthful Shakspere had seen Herod rage and rant upon the stage and listened with exquisite terror to the raucous voice of a stage Pilate such as had furnished Chaucer, two centuries earlier, with his apt metaphor for the hoarse boisterousness of Robin, the Miller of the Canterbury pilgrimage.

In 1575, when Shakspere was eleven, the Earl of Leicester presented the magnificent revels at Kenilworth, only ten miles from Stratford-on-Avon, in honor of his royal visitor, the Queen herself. The account of these revels, as set forth in George Gascoigne's *The Princely Pleasures at Kenilworth Castle,* indicates a great variety of display: fireworks, water pageantry, allegorical presentation, and poetic addresses. Professor Cunliffe and others are of the opinion that Shakspere at eleven did not likely attend these festivities but got his idea of them later when as a young dramatist he came upon a copy of Gascoigne's book.[1] I am not quite willing to give up the picture of little eleven-year-old Will Shakspere tagging along and weaving his way through the motley crowd at Kenilworth to see

> The mermaid on the dolphin's back[2]

and looking up with wide eyes as the manipulators of the fireworks brought it about that against the darkened Warwickshire sky

> Certain stars shot madly from their spheres.[3]

But even if he did not go to Kenilworth himself, many and many a Stratford man did, and for days the streets and

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[1] Brooke, Cunliffe, MacCracken, *Shakespeare's Principal Plays,* p. 35.

[2] M. N. D. II, i, 150.
The line numbering followed in this paper is that of the Globe edition of the plays.

[3] M. N. D. II, i, 153.

loitering places of the little town were full of the reports of the wonders seen at Kenilworth, and Will Shakspere, we may be sure, missed none of it and certainly did not have to wait twelve or fifteen years to read about it in a book. Dramatic display was most popular in these later years of the Sixteenth Century and young Shakspere's whole environs must have been particularly conducive to a direct acquaintance with plays and the conventions of playing.

Among the various types of play which he would have opportunity to see were the moral plays or moralities, as they were called. Such plays as *The Castle of Perseverance, Everyman, Wit and Science, Mundus et Infans, Nice Wanton,* and *Mankind* were still current and were widely known.[4] The type had sadly degenerated by Shakspere's day so that the antics of the devils and the farcical carryings on of the Vice had crowded out most of the moral emphasis and had superseded the didactic intent of the earlier moralities by a degenerate form of crude horseplay.

A very interesting side-light on Shakspere's opportunities for seeing morality plays and becoming familiar with their conventions is given us by a man named Willis, who, born within a year of Shakspere, has left us an account, written in 1639 when he was seventy-five years of age, of a play to which his father took him as a boy in Gloucester, in the near neighborhood of Stratford. As we follow Willis' account, may we not, without difficulty, imagine the boy Shakspere at many such a performance?

After telling of the arrangements for the play, Willis' account proceeds:

> "At such play my father took me with him, and made me stand between his legs as he sat upon one of the benches, where we saw and heard very well.

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[4] For details regarding the persistence of the morality play into and beyond the reign of Elizabeth see Ward's *English Dramatic Literature,* I, 99-143. I call particular attention to the performance of the *Contention between Liberalitie and Prodigalitie* before the Queen in 1600.

It is also of more than passing interest that in the *Book of Sir Thomas Moore* (conjectural date between 1586 and 1596; vid. Brooke, *Shakespeare Apocrypha,* xlix) in IV, i, 40-47, a player reports to More that his company has in its repertory *The Cradle of Securitie, Hit nayle o' th head, Impacient Povertie, The play of Foure Pees, Dives and Lazarus, Lustie Juventus,* and *The Marriage of Witt and Wisdome.* Three of these, perhaps four, are clearly of the morality type. More chose the last named play, a typical morality, an excerpt from which is presented later in the same scene.

> "The play was called *The Cradle of Security,* wherein was presented a King or some great prince (named Wicked-of-the World) with his courtiers of several kinds, amongst which three ladies (Pride, Covetousness, and Luxury) were in special grace with him; and they, keeping him in delights and pleasures drew him from his graver counsellors, hearing of sermons, and listening to good counsel and admonitions, that in the end they got him to lie down in a cradle upon the stage, where these three ladies joining in sweet song rocked him asleep. . . .
>
> "Whilst all this was acting, there came forth of another door at the farthest end of the stage two old men, the one (End-of-the-World) in blue with a sergeant-at-arms' mace on his shoulder, the other (Last Judgment) in red with a drawn sword in his hand and leaning with the other hand upon the other's shoulder. And so they two went along in a soft pace round about by the skirt of the stage, till at last they came to cradle when all the court was in greatest jollity; and then the foremost old man (End-of-the-World) with his mace struck a fearful blow upon the cradle, whereat all the courtiers, with the three ladies . . . . all vanished; and the desolate Prince, starting up . . . . and finding himself thus sent to judgment made a lamentable complaint of his miserable case; and so was carried away by wicked spirits. . . .
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> "This sight," so Willis concludes, "took such impression in me that when I came towards man's estate it was as fresh in my memory as if I had seen it new acted."[5]

I quote thus at length from Willis' account not alone to show the proximity of opportunity for seeing moralities of the conventional sort in the time and vicinity of Shakspere's youth, but also because this apparently rather crude morality, *The Cradle of Security,* contains very clearly two of the three stock themes of the morality. The three stock themes of the morality are The Conflict of the Vices and Virtues, The Coming of Death, and The Debate of the Heavenly Virtues. Willis' well-remembered play apparently contained in clear form the first two of these, for he recalls that the "three ladies, Pride, Covetousness, and Luxury," three of the seven deadly sins, "drew the Prince from his graver counsellors," who very well may have been Meekness, Charity, and Abstinence, the three directly opposed Virtues, thus supplying the conflict of the Vices and Virtues.

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[5] Cited by J. Q. Adams (*A Life of William Shakespeare,* pp. 46, 47) from R. Willis, *Mount Tabor, Or Private Exercises of a Penitent Sinner—Published in the Year of his age 75, Anno Dom.* 1639, p. 110.

No doubt this play reported by Willis is the same play which stands number one on the list submitted to Sir T. More in the play, *vid.* p. 3, n. 1, *supra.*

In the second movement of the play we have the Coming of Death with the accompanying arousal of fear and lamenting on the part of the human figure and his transportation to Hell by atendant devils.

The debate of the Heavenly Virtues, sometimes called the four daughters of God, is not so familiar an element. It appears in fullest development in *The Castle of Perseverance* where the four daughters debate the judgment to be meted out to the soul of Mankind. *The Castle of Perseverance* is the only extant morality which contains all three of these elements. The deservedly best known of the moralities, *Everyman,* deals only with the Coming of Death.

But in practically all of the moralities which we know or know about the central theme is the Conflict of the Vices and Virtues for the soul of a man, or, as in the unique *Nice Wanton,* for the soul of a woman. Often there is only one evil solicitor and only one agent of goodness, as in Marlowe's *Dr. Faustus,* where they are called simply Evil Angel and Good Angel. In all, however, the formula is essentially one: a human figure, Mankind, Infans, Everyman, or Wyt, is besought in quick alternation by the agencies of evil and the agencies of righteousness to take his course of life under their direction. Practically invariably he goes the way of evil. Ultimately Death comes. Sometimes he repents in time to escape damnation. Often his realization of his desperate plight comes too late and he is given over to the tortues of Hell.

It is surely pertinent to remark here that the history of the development of the morality shows a trend toward the tragic outcome. Some years ago Mr. Robert Lee Ramsey pointed out[6] that there was even from as early as 1450 a steady development within the conventional frame work of the morality play, and that particularly after 1520 there is more and more the development toward a tragic outcome. Of the thirteen extant moralities dating before 1520, as Mr. Ramsey has shown, all end in the final redemption of the central figure, but after 1520, with increasing frequency, the outcome is tragic.

Notable instances are *Nice Wanton, The Cradle of Se-*

[6] Skelton, J., *Magnifycence,* ed. Robert Lee Ramsey for the E. E. T. S., 1908, *passim.*

curity, and Marlowe's *Faustus.* More and more also in these later moralities the figures became personalized. In *Nice Wanton* the central figure is named Delila, and Marlowe's pivotal figure is not an abstraction but an individual named Dr. Faustus.

Before we pass on to the serious consideration of the moral problems presented in *Macbeth,* one of Shakspere's most mature pieces of construction, may we turn aside for a brief inspection of a very interesting bit in a much earlier and less artistic composition, *The Merchant of Venice,* in which, it seems clear to me, that Shakspere is burlesquing the stock element of the Conflict of the Virtues and Vices as familiarly seen in the moralities?

I refer to the monologue of Launcelot Gobb in *The Merchant of Venice,* II, ii, in which he clownishly exhibits himself as in the throes of a spiritual struggle as to whether he shall run or not run away from his Jew master, Shylock. As he capers back and forth, plucked now, as he would have you think, at one elbow by his conscience, and now at the other by the fiend, what else than the clashing solicitations of Good and Evil in the morality play can Shakspere be thinking of? This, I would suggest, is not criticism by Shakspere of the morality play, not even satire of the cruder forms of the morality; it is merely easy and pleasant burlesque of something easy to burlesque because it is well and familiarly known, just as nowadays we meet with utmost frequency with burlesque versions of the balcony scene in *Romeo and Juliet* or innocent parodies on the "Charge of the Light Brigade" or the "Psalm of Life," not with any desire to make these well-known compositions ridiculous but simply taking advantage of their familiar forms in order to make inapt material appear grotesque in their well-known dress.

My point in citing this Launcelot monologue, then, is to add further to the indications, if that is necessary, that Shakspere had familiar acquaintance with the moralities and their stock themes.

One other matter of contemporary import remains to be noted before we turn to an examination of the theme of Macbeth. Soon after Shakspere's arrival in London his greatest predecessor in the field of dramatic composition,

Christopher Marlowe, brought out his *Dr. Faustus,* which was, there can be little doubt, a conscious return on his part to an outworn form and a familiar basic theme. Marlowe's artistic powers were adequate, however, to breathe new vitality into the form and to give new potency to the theme so as to make the play not only the greatest of the moralities but also one of the great pieces of dramatic composition of our literature. It is in much the same fashion that Keats' "La Belle Dame Sans Merci," written long after the day of the popular ballads and by a sophisticated hand, is nevertheless one of the best of our ballads.

Young Shakspere, undoubtedly, knew Marlowe's play. He recognized its powerful retouching of the old theme of the conflict between evil and good for the soul of Faustus, and he must have been powerfully attracted by the stupendous lines in which Marlowe depicts the Coming of Death and the agony of soul of the self-condemned scholar as he soliloquizes:

> Ah, Faustus,
> Now hast thou but one bare hour to live,
> And then thou must be damn'd perpetually!
> Stand still, you ever-moving spheres of Heaven,
> That time may cease and midnight never come;
> Fair Nature's eye, rise, rise again and make
> Perpetual day; or let this hour be but
> A year, a month, a week, a natural day,
> That Faustus may repent and save his soul!
> O *lente, lente currite, noctis equi!*
> The stars move still, time runs, the clock will strike,
> The Devil will come, and Faustus must be damn'd!
> O, I'll leap up to my God! Who pulls me down?
> See, see where Christ's blood streams in the firmament!
> One drop would save my soul—half a drop; ah, my Christ!
> Ah, rend not my heart for naming of my Christ!
> Yet will I call on him: O spare me, Lucifer!—
> Where is it now? 'Tis gone; and see where God
> Stretcheth out his arm, and bends his ireful brows!
> Mountains and hills, come, come and fall on me,
> And hide me from the heavy wrath of God!
> *Dr. Faustus,* xiv, 74-84.[7]

It is my belief that it was with words such as these in his ears and with the whole tradition of the morality play in his memory that Shakspere came, about 1606, to the

[7] Neilson, W. A. *Chief Elizabethan Dramatists,* (1911), 95.

writing of *Macbeth*. I should not undertake to call *Macbeth* a morality play even in the sense in which *Dr. Faustus* may well be called. *Macbeth* is unlike the conventional morality in too many salient features for that. Its persons are individualized human characters, not abstractions, and its plot is woven close out of the very stuff of human motive and contriving; but in other respects, as I shall try to show, its basic theme and the working out of its catastrophe are so similar to the theme and the outcome of the morality as to suggest more than simply chance resemblance.

First let us note the similarity in theme to the morality theme. Barely stated, that theme is: I. Good and evil seek the following of mankind. II. He, yielding to the invitation of evil, is led to destruction.

I.

Whatever theory you may prefer regarding the witches in *Macbeth,* the point of view of the play itself and of the chief actors in the play identifies them with the evil solicitors of the morality play. Macbeth, following their announcement of his advancement in rank and coming kingship, refers to their speech as,

> This supernatural soliciting. (I, iii, 130.)

and Lady Macbeth, after reading his letter telling of the appearance and speech of the witches, eagerly wishes for his coming to add her words of urgency toward his reaching out for what she calls

> the golden round
> Which fate and metaphysical aid doth seem
> To have thee crown'd withal. (I, v, 29-31.)

In his letter Macbeth says:

> I have learned by the perfectest report, they have
> more in them than mortal knowledge. (I, v, 2, 3.)

Macbeth's later attitude is clearly one of blame toward the witches for their soliciting him to evil, as well as one of blame for himself for having yielded. After he seeks them, following Banquo's murder, and learns from them how much further the stream of blood stretches out before him, he exclaims with passionate bitterness:

> Infected be the air whereon they ride,
> And damn'd all those that trust them!
> IV, i, 138, 139.

and almost with his last breath, he says,

> And be these juggling fiends no more believed
> That palter with us in a double sense,
> That keep the word of promise to our ear,
> And break it to our hope. (V, viii, 19-22.)

The degree to which we can identify Lady Macbeth with the party of the evil solicitors is difficult to determine. But it is principally because the dramatist's genius for characterization has individualized her and humanized her that this is difficult. She is, as I see her, wholly and entirely unselfish. Her wish is for her husband's greatness. Before she can begin her work of urgency upon Macbeth, her seemingly necessary prayer is:

> Come, spirits, ... unsex me here
> And fill me from the crown to th' toe top-full
> Of direst cruelty. (I, v, 40-43.)

She is feminine and possessed of womanly instincts. Her young motherhood is a precious memory to her.

> I have given suck and know
> How tender 'tis to love the babe that milks me. (I, vii, 54, 55.)

She is strangely wrought upon even in the hour of her direct inhumanity by the memory of a happy daughterhood, for even as she clutches the dagger to slay the kindly, innocent, sleeping king a flash of fond memory comes to her:

> Had he not resembled
> My father as he slept, I had done 't.
> II, iii, 13, 14.

And observe her particularly in the bitter pathos of the sleep walking—broken heart, broken mind, broken by the weight of guilty knowledge and the inner gnawings of remorse. Hear her as her mind glances from one shadowed peak of guilty association to another, but always back to the bloody hands:

> Who would have thought the old man to have
> had so much blood in him. V, i, 44, 45.
> What! will these hands ne'er be clean? I. 48.

> Here's the smell of blood still; all the
> perfumes of Arabia will not sweeten this
> little hand. ll. 56-58.
> Wash your hands . . . . I tell you yet again
> Banquo's buried; he cannot come out on's
> grave.

Surely one who feels guilt so, has once been innocent. Surely such a one is not unmixed and incarnate evil.

But the fact remains that Lady Macbeth *is* consciously and actively the ally of the supernatural solicitors. She siezes upon Macbeth's report of the witches' words eagerly and is impatient for his coming.

> "Hie thee hither," she says,
> "That I may pour my spirits in thine ear
> And chastise with the valour of my tongue."
> I, v, 26-28.

Throughout the scenes which precede the murder of Duncan, Lady Macbeth is the principal driving force in getting Macbeth into the stream of the action. Caught and held as she is by feminine impulses, and girlhood memories, and the sweet instincts of motherhood, she can in a crisis cry out upon Macbeth, the valiant warrior:

> Infirm of purpose!
> Give me the daggers. II, ii, 52, 53.

Gradually as he commits himself more fully to his course of crime, he needs her less and less and she drops back into the gloom of guilt and remorse. He, most likely, no matter how ingenious the lure of the witches' solicitations, would never have become a criminal without her urgency, but is it not significant that, though he blames the witches bitterly, he has no word of blame for her?

Thus far I have attempted to point out the prence in the groundwork of the plot of *Macbeth* of the element of solicitation to evil by the agents of evil. But that is not enough to make it a morality play; there must be a conflict between evil and good. This conflict in *Macbeth* is assumed on the part of righteousness by the noble instincts in Macbeth's own nature, by common-sense considerations, and by the dictates of the ordinary claims of human decency. The conflict is in Macbeth's own mind. Note how it sways back and forth. Hear his first soliloquy after the meeting with

the witches and after Ross has acclaimed him Thane of Cawdor:

> This supernatural soliciting cannot
> Be ill; cannot be good. If ill,
> Why hath it gi'en me earnest of success
> Commencing in a truth? I am Thane of Cawdor.
> If good, why do I yield to that suggestion
> Whose horrid image doth unfix my hair,
> And make my seated heart knock at my ribs,
> Against the use of nature? I, iii, 130-137.

and at the close of this phase of the conflict good wins, for we hear Macbeth saying

> If chance will have me king, why chance may crown me
> Without my stir. I, iii, 143, 144.

But this is before he joins Lady Macbeth, and so, after his return home and after Duncan comes and is feasted and has gone to his pleasant rest for the night, Macbeth, alone, renews the conflict. This time it is common reason, the dictates of personal safety, the conventions of society that move on the side of good, but it is still a conflict:

> If it were done when 'tis done, then 'twere well
> It were done quickly. If th' assassination
> Could trammel up the consequence and catch
> With his surcease success! that but this blow
> Might be the be-all and the end-all here,
> But here upon this bank and shoal of time,
> We'd jump the life to come. But in these cases
> We still have judgment here; that we but
> Teach bloody instructions, which, being taught,
> return
> To plague th' inventor: this even-handed justice
> Commends th' ingredients of our poison'd chalice
> To our own lips. He's here in double trust;
> First, as I am his kinsmen and his subject—
> Strong both against the deed; then as his host,
> Who should against his murderer shut the door,
> Not bear the knife myself. Besides, this Duncan
> Hath borne his faculties so meek, hath been
> So clear in his great office, that his virtues
> Will plead like angels, trumpet-tongu'd, against
> The deep damnation of his taking-off;
> And pity, like a naked new-born babe,
> Striding the blast, or heaven's cherubim, horsed
> Upon the sightless couriers of the air,
> Shall blow the horrid deed in every eye,

That tears shall drown the wind. I have no spur
To prick the sides of my intent but only
Vaulting ambition, which o'erleaps itself
And falls on th' other . . . . V, vii, 1-28.

And once more, may we not suppose, honesty and common decency are about to win Macbeth, but his Lady enters and the balance of his decision is forced over to the side of evil.

May I suggest another indication that Shakspere has in mind the existence of conflict between vice and virtue? This is furnished in the person of Banquo. Twice in the course of the first two acts[8] Macbeth suggests to Banquo a private conference on the matters contained in the sibylline words of the witches. Each time Banquo assents, it seems with something like eagerness. "Very gladly," he says to Macbeth's first suggestion. "At your kindest leisure," the second time.

It is perhaps significant to note in addition to what has already been said regarding the witches as the spokeswomen of evil, that Banuo is quick to identify them as agents of evil. When Ross announces Macbeth's elevation to the Thane-ship of Cawdor, confirming thus the second article of the witches' word, "What," says Banquo, "can the *devil* speak true?" (I, iii, 107). And a few minutes later when Macbeth is pointing out to him that the witches' words carry much of promise for himself, he quickly replies in an argument very familiar to Shakspere's auditors:

But 'tis strange;
And oftentimes, to win us to our harm
The instruments of darkness tell us truths,
Win us with honest trifles, to betray's
In deepest consequence . . . . I, iii, 122-126.[9]

After Duncan is abed on the night of the murder we find Banquo with his son, Fleance, in a state of mind which bears all the marks of inward conflict. He is heavy with sleep, but he fears to trust himself to sleep.

A heavy summons lies like lead upon me
And yet I would not sleep. Merciful powers,

Restrain in me the cursëd thoughts that nature
Gives way to in repose! II, i, 6-9.

[8] I, iii, 152-156 and II, i, 22-28.
[9] Cf. *Hamlet* I, iv, 69-76; II, ii, 627-632.

What are these cursed thoughts, if not thoughts prompting him, too, toward criminal action along the course of bringing in his promised good fortune before its time? Indeed, he tells Macbeth within five minutes after this speech about the "cursed thoughts that nature gives way to in repose,"

> I dreamt last night of the weird sisters;
> To you they've show'd some truth. II, i, 19, 20.

Thus giving us not only some fairly clear notion of what he means by "cursed thoughts," but also showing clearly that the meeting with the witches and the words of the witches are very much on his mind, and suggesting by his remark to Macbeth, "to you they have showed some truth," his willingness to open the subject. Whereupon Macbeth suggests for the second time that they confer on the matter.

"At your kindest leisure," says Banquo, and Macbeth replies,

> If you shall cleave to my consent, when 'tis,
> It shall make honor for you. II, i, 23-26.

And honest Banquo, holding stoutly to the cause of righteousness, answers:

> So I lose none
> In seeking to augment it, but still keep
> My bosom franchis'd and allegiance clear. II, i, 27-29.

Speaking from the standpoint of dramatic construction, Banquo is a foil for Macbeth. Both are caught in the conflict of vice and virtue. Macbeth yields to the solicitings of Evil. Banquo behaves as Macbeth should have done.

We have traced the first part of the formula of the Morality as it appears in *Macbeth: Good and Evil seek the following of mankind.* The witches and Lady Macbeth have the rôle of the agents of evil; Macbeth's common sense, the sanctions of society, and the claims of common decency supply the good influences. There is a conflict, waged chiefly within Macbeth's own spirit. First his inclinations are to follow righteousness; ultimately he yields to evil. This conflict is further emphasized by the circumstances of a similar conflict with a contrasted outcome in the case of Banquo.

II.

It remains for us to observe the working out of the second phase of the theme: *Mankind, yielding to Evil, is led to destruction.*

Scarcely is his course of evil set forth upon before Macbeth begins to indicate the arousal of regret and remorse. Almost immediately after Duncan is murdered comes the fearful knocking at the gate with all its suggestions of the inevitable coming in of the business of the world, and the clear eyes of men, and the full shining of the sun upon the dark and secret places of these two guilty hearts.[10] Knock! Knock! Knock! And Macbeth, now committeed to evil, is astonished at his fearfulness.

"Whence is that knocking?" he exclaims. "How is it with me, when every noise appals me?" II, ii, 58, 50. And then he sees in the imminent presence of discovery his blood-stained hands:

> What hands are here! . . . .
> Will all great Neptune's ocean wash this blood
> Clean from my hand?
>
> II, ii, 60-62.

Following this, there is the nervous haste of preparation for opening the door and confronting the questioning eye of the world. Hands are washed; sleeping apparel is donned; faces are composed, and still "Knock! Knock! Knock!" till from the depth of his soul, new-sold to evil, Macbeth exclaims:

> Wake Duncan with thy knocking! I would
> thou could'st!
>
> II, ii, 74.

Thus from the beginning, Macbeth seems aware of the spiritual consequences of his deed. By spiritual consequences I mean more than merely a sense of having committed sin, more than a sense of guilt. There was a sense of the irretrievable and final in his attitude toward his deed; a suggestion that his act was in a sense a bargain or contract with evil in the same fashion that Faustus bound himself, cutting a vein and writing the fatal compact with his own blood.[11] It is true that there is no single act or

[10] For my interpretation of the Knocking at the Gate, I am chiefly indebted to Sir Arthur Quillar-Couch's article "The Workmanship of Macbeth," *North American Review*, Oct., Nov., Dec., 1914.

[11] *Dr. Faustus*, v. 48-75, ed. Neilson, W. A., 85.

situation presented in *Macbeth* which we can identify as the act of signing over his soul to Lucifer, but there are clear references throughout the last three acts of the play to the situation in terms which clearly suggest that Macbeth so looked upon his case.

One of the most dramatic situations from this point of view comes in Macbeth's strong realization of his inability to pray, which came just after the murder of the good King. Macbeth, returning from the doing of the bloody deed, passes a chamber where two men are lodged together. As he passes, they turn restlessly on their beds, as if aroused from a troublous dream, perhaps, Macbeth thinks, a dream of a man standing before them with bloody hands. Arousing enough to realize the source of their fears to be but a dream, they cross themselves, say their prayers, and address them again to sleep. One saying, as their prayers are ended, "God bless us," and the other, "Amen."

"Listening their fear," Macbeth tells his wife with dawning horror at the spiritual meaning of it all, "I could not say 'Amen,' when they did say, 'God bless us.' "

"Consider it not so deeply," she replies, fearful of his fear:

> But wherefore could not I pronounce "Amen"?
> I had most need of blessing, and "Amen"
> Stuck in my throat.
>
> II, ii, 19-33.

The comparison of this with the stark fatality of Dr. Faustus' realization that he cannot call on Christ and that not even half a drop of Christ's blood is available for him, and with the fatal realization of Mankind in many a morality that his evil course has led him beyond mercy, is striking and suggestive.

But the most convincing statement of this view of the case of Macbeth as of a compact with the Devil is in his review of his spiritual situation as he ponders the plot to kill Banquo. The two prophetic articles of the witches' salutations have been fulfilled. He is Cawdor; he is King. Proved wise prophets in two particulars, may they not be supposed also to be reliable as to their third article? Banquo they had hailed as father of a line of kings. Banquo! If this be true then Macbeth's whole course of crime has been for only a trifling return. King himself for only the short

remaining span of his own days, no son of his is to succeed. All the benefits of his bloody deed are for Banquo's profit. If it be so, then at what a bitter cost he has purchased Banquo's good. Hear him as he counts this cost.

> If it be so
> For Banquo's issue have I fil'd my mind;
> For them the gracious Duncan have I murder'd;
> Put rancours in the vessel of my peace
> Only for them; and mine eternal jewel
> Given to the common enemy of man,
> To make them Kings.
> II, i, 64-70.

Note, please, three phrases here: "Fil'd my mind," that is *de*filed my mind; "put rancours in the vessel of my peace," and "mine ternal jewel given to the common enemy of man." The first two of these are statements about the present condition of his soul. They indicate remorse, regret, bitter dissatisfaction. The third is the clearest of all our references to the compact with the Devil. It mentions it definitely and in clearest terms. "Mine eternal jewel," that is, my soul and its salvation, "given to the common enemy of man," that is, the Devil. This is Macbeth's own disillusioned statement of his case. What clearer statement might we wish regarding the fatal transaction?[12]

From the time of the murder of Banquo on, Macbeth is harder, more bloody, more resolved. There is no indication that he hopes for success, much less for happiness, but he does resolve upon a heroic attitude for himself. He knows apparently the futility of the thought repentance. After the banquet and his unbalanced conduct in the presence of the blood-boltered ghost of Banquo, he considers passingly the thought of confession, but he turns from it saying:

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12 Assuming, with most students of the play, that the scene in which Hecate reprimands the witches (III, v) is not by Shakspere but by another hand, say, Middleton's, we have a very interesting side light on how an intelligent contemporary read the play. Hecate says:

> How did you dare
> To trade and traffic with Macbeth
> In riddles and affairs of death?

which seems clear evidence that Middleton thought of the affair as having involved some occult transaction darker and more sinister than a simple resolve to do an evil deed.

I am in blood
Stepp'd in so far that should I wade no more,
Returning were as tedious as go o'er.
III, iv, 136-138.

His major responsibility now, he seems to feel, is to carry his rôle with as strong a hand as possible for so long as he can. He is no longer to be deflected or delayed by any slightest considerations of conscience. He has hesitated for a moment and in that lost moment Macduff has escaped and fled to England. Macbeth hears of it and takes his resolution:

From this moment
The very firstlings of my heart shall be
The firstlings of my hand.
IV, i, 146-148.

But it would be altogether false to the spirit of the closing scenes of the play to suppose that Macbeth lost his sense of regret, that he passed beyond remorse.

Close upon the time of his death, he is found lamenting his course of life, even regretting what it has cost him in human friendship and relationship. He begins by speaking of his present military enterprise, his last hope of resistance, and drifts on into some of the bitterest and most poignantly regretful words about life ever given a man to say: He says, speaking of his military plan,

This push
Will cheer me ever or disseat me now.
I have liv'd long enough; my way of life
Is fall'n into the sear, the yellow leaf;
And that which should accompany old age,
As honour, love, obedience, troops of friends,
I must not look to have; but in their stead,
Curses, not loud but deep, mouth-honour, breath,
Which the poor heart would fain deny, and dare not.
V, ii, 20-28.

Almost immediately the doctor enters and, responding to Macbeth's inquiry regarding the Queen's condition, he reports her more troubled in mind than body, and with the bitterest irony Macbeth replies:

Cure her of that.
Cans't thou not minister to a mind diseased,
Pluck from the memory a rooted sorrow,
Raze out the written troubles of the brain
And with some sweet oblivious antidote
Cleanse the stuff'd bosom of that perilous stuff
Which weighs upon the heart?
V, iii, 29-44.

Again, just before the battle begins, a cry of women is heard within the castle and Macbeth comments:

> I have almost forgot the taste of fears.
> The time has been, my senses would have cool'd
> To hear a night-shriek; and my fell of hair
> Would at a dismal treatise rouse and stir
> As life were in't. I have supp'd full with horrors;
> Direness, familiar to my slaughterous thoughts
> Cannot once start me.
>
> V, iv, 8-14.

And once more there is a flaring up of regret and remorse. It is when in the press of battle he suddenly finds himself confronted with Macduff, who bids him turn and fight. Macbeth says:

> Of all men else I have avoided thee.
> But get thee back; my soul is too much charg'd
> With blood of thine already.
>
> V, vii, 4-6.

Although it still puzzles me after many readings, I am constrained to conclude this phase of the study by an examination of Macbeth's speech following the report of Lady Macbeth's death. It is most clearly the speech of a man who has not only found life empty and futile but who also looks with no hope to the life beyond death. All the hope he may once have had has gone the way of his eternal jewel into the keeping of the common enemy of man. It is just after the cry of the women which we referred to above, in which Macbeth comments, as we have noted, on his callousness to the suggestions of fear, and then asks:

> Wherefore was that cry?

His attendant answers, "The queen, my lord, is dead." Macbeth's next lines are the puzzling ones. Does he mean: "She should have been more considerate in choosing a time to die? This is a most inopportune time for such a word"? Or does he mean, what seems to me much more likely, "She would have died sometime, if not now, then hereafter: some day the word would have come. One time is as good as any, even now"?—for his following words are a bitter araignment of life as not worth the price.

The messenger says, "The queen, my lord, is dead," and Macbeth:

> She should have died hereafter;
> There would have been a time for such a word.
> Tomorrow and tomorrow and tomorrow
> Creeps in this petty pace from day to day

> To the last syllable of recorded time,
> And all our yesterdays have lighted fools
> The way to dusty death. Out, out, brief candle!
> Life's but a walking shadow, a poor player
> That struts and frets his hour upon the stage
> And then is heard no more; it is a tale
> Told by an idiot, full of sound and fury
> Signifying nothing.
>
> V, v, 15-28.

This and the foregoing passages which I have quoted, I have sought to show, are the deliverances of a man not sickened primarily by military defeats and reverses but the speech of a man sickened by the effects of an evil course of life upon his spiritual being. Sick, if you will, of a most vile bargain. Macbeth never loses his physical courage. He is strong and fierce and valiant down to the very end, but his whole joy in life, his whole satisfaction in the exercise of power, his pride in his own devisings, all of these have become in his mouth the very ashes of bitterness because of what has happened to his soul.

I venture to suggest that Macbeth and Lady Macbeth stand out from among Shakspere's great human creations as being the only ones to exhibit great spiritual sensitiveness. No other major character, unless we name Hamlet's uncle, is troubled by deeply spiritual concerns. Brutus, Hamlet, and Othello have "free souls" so far as any cause for personal sense of guilt is concerned. Antony and Cleopatra are rather unmoral than immoral. Richard, Iago, and Edmund are native plants in the seed bed of iniquity and possess no conscience. The heroes and heroines of the great comedies live for the most part happily, and always innocenty. But Macbeth and Lady Macbeth are from the beginning spiritually sensitive. Their problem is a spiritual one; the catastrophe of their tragedy is a spiritual catastrophe. Their loss is greater than the loss of kingdom, or the loss of the whole world, or even the loss of life; it is loss of soul. And again, even at the risk of confusing the points of this paper, may I say that this is as true of the Lady as of Macbeth himself.

III.

In concluding, may I gather up the threads of suggestion which I have sought to lay down? I have not presumed to say that this play is a morality play in the same sense that

Marlowe's play is. I have already suggested that it is much more than that, for it is full of the concerns of remarkably convincing human personalities, and its plot is made out of the stuff of life. But, on the other hand, it is like the morality in the basic handling of the moral issues. Two of the convention situations of the morality make practically the entire plot of *Macbeth*. The conflict of the Vices and Virtues occupies us almost up to the murder of Duncan. After the commitment of Macbeth to do evil we are occupied with the coming of Death, as throughout the rest of the play, Macbeth arouses to the fatality of his evil bargain, to the futility of life, and the hopelessness of death. To my mind the situation is not that Shakspere, setting his hand to this play, said, "I will now compose a modernized and personalized morality play as Kit Marlow did in *Faustus,* only mine will be more modern and the people more life-like." Rather I should suppose that, determining for the various reasons which led him to it, to take up the Macbeth story, and finding it a story, involving as no other of his stories had done, spiritual problems and the very issues of salvation, he naturally, because of early and continued familarity with them, fell back upon the basic formulæ of the morality play, using its stock situations, emphasizing particularly the element of the fatal compact with the Devil, and, whether consciously or not, producing a powerful morality which has come to be familiarly known, not as it well might be, as *the Moral Play of Macbeth,* but as *the Tragedy of Macbeth.*[13]

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[13] I offer one more fragment of suggestions of Shakspere's accustomedness to the sumbolic drama. Lady Macbeth is telling her husband that all is in readiness for the bloody deed. She has taken care to close up the sense of the grooms:

> I have drugged their possets,
> That death and nature do contend about them,
> Whether they live or die. **II, ii, 6-8.**

It would be folly to insist that this passage argues a present and conscious sense on Shakspere's part of the patterns and conventions of the morality or of the Body and Soul or Life and Death debates. But with his background of familiarity with these conventions, as sure as ours with the conventions of political campaign orations, what more likely basis for this than a vivid image of the personalized figures of Death and Nature as on a stage standing over the deep-drugged grooms contending as to which is to have them?

For the contention between the debate and the morality see W. H. Schofield, *English Literature from the Norman Conquest to Chaucer,* (1925), 424-430. Schofield suggests specifically that such interludes of Heywood as *Wit and Folly* and *Pardoner and Friar* are probably directly developed from the debates of *Vices and Virtues, The Soul and the Body, Death and Life,* etc. And Mr. Ramsey (*op. cit.,* cxlviii) lists the Body and Soul debate theme as one of the stock themes or some of the earlier non-extant moralities.

THERE ARE MORE THINGS, HORATIO

By Anton A. Raven

EVERYONE knows that *Hamlet* is the most popular play ever written. Everyone knows, too, that it is something of a mystery. One can enjoy it without noticing its problems; but sooner or later, if one reads the play carefully or watches with care while it is being performed, questions as to its meaning will arise, questions which one will have great difficulty in solving unaided. In this predicament one naturally turns to the literature which has grown up about the play, only to find that the critics differ so much among themselves that they are of little help. And one is soon appalled, too, at the amount that has been written. In 1877, Dr. Horace Howard Furness published his two volume *Variorum* edition of the play, one of the early parts of his notable edition of Shakspere. *Hamlet* was the only play which required two volumes, and he spoke in the Preface to the first of the impossibility of condensing a whole literature within the compass he allowed himself. The task would be much more difficult now. For since 1877 something about *Hamlet* has been published on an average of about every twelve days—and that does not include editions of the play or reviews of its performances. If they were reckoned in, the average would be once a week.

It has recently been my lengthy task to go through as much of this material as I could lay my hands on. I have read more than a thousand writings about *Hamlet*. Of the many things I have learned about the play I shall not speak, but I think it is of interest to bear witness to that which we all know, that it takes all sorts of persons to make a world. The most astonishing discovery I have made is undoubtedly the fact that one need not be wise—perhaps one need not even be sane—to attain the honor of publication. Print seems to be no guarantee of merit. The most fantastic ideas imaginable can be, and have been, accorded the temporary immortality of publication. If anything serious is to be retained by the reader of this article I hope it will be that fact.

Exhibit Number One is a book called *The Mystery of*

Hamlet. An Attempt to Solve an Old Problem. The author was Mr. Edward P. Vining; the book was published in Philadelphia in 1881 and, for reasons of which we must remain uncertain, was translated into German and published in Leipzig two years later. Mr. Vining was at this time General Freight Traffic Manager of the Union Pacific Railroad. He had held and was to hold other positions connected with transportation, but he was a gentleman of wide interests and a literary bent, being the author not only of writings about Shakspere but also of *Israel, or Jacob's New Name,* a translation of the *Epistle to the Hebrews,* and of *The Necessity for a Classification of Freight.* Though he was not a college graduate he was awarded an honorary A.M. by Yale in 1886 and an LL.D by William Jewell College in 1908. He died in 1920.

As a Shaksperian critic Mr. Vining had his shortcomings. According to his theory about *Hamlet,* the hero was a woman in disguise, in love with Horatio, and, quite naturally, indifferent to Ophelia. This interesting interpretation was, of course, not spun out of thin air. Mr. Vining examined with care the early versions of the play. It is pretty generally agreed that there was a play on Hamlet some years before Shakspere's work appeared. The author was probably Thomas Kyd, and though the play itself is lost, we have some indication of its nature from a German play which was based on it, *Der bestrafte Brudermord.* This is the earliest extant version of the Hamlet story. Shakspere's play is known to us in three versions, the First Quarto, the Second Quarto, and the Folio. If one examines these four versions one may be struck, as was Mr. Vining, by the change in the character of Hamlet. As he came to Shakspere he was apparently a bloodthirsty avenger, lacking all the finer traits and the charm with which we are familiar. It is Mr. Vining's contention that as Shakspere worked on the character, as it took shape in his mind, he came to realize that the character was really a woman, for the direction of his development was toward increasing femininity; he appeared in his final presentation as the delicate, sensitive, melancholy Prince who has fascinated actors—and actresses —for three hundred years. The theory holds that Shakspere, becoming aware of how completely he had transformed the

character, went through the play and removed from it everything which conflicted with the conception of Hamlet as a woman. Note the skill of this interpretation. Mr. Vining shows himself possesed of more insight than Hamlet's own companions. The King, Hamlet's mother the Queen, his schoolfellows, and his bosom friend Horatio are all unaware of the truth; but in 1881 it was discovered, doubtless with as much delight as that with which we now discover Mr. Vining.

Another book which propounds a strikingly original interpretation of the play is *The True Story of Hamlet and Ophelia,* by Fredericka B. Gilchrist, Boston, 1889. Evidently Miss Gilchrist had not read Mr. Vining's book, for she still considered it necessary to study the play with care to uncover its secret. For a part of the first act she was as mystified as we may be, but then, in Scene v, she found the solution in Hamlet's interview with the Ghost. After hearing of the dastardly murder of his father, Hamlet exclaims,

> "O all you host of heaven! O earth! What else?
> And shall I couple hell? O fie!"

Most critics have seen no difficulty in this passage. For that matter, neither did Miss Gilchrist. To her it was obvious that someone had mispunctuated. The lines should read,

> "O all you host of heaven! O earth! What else?
> And shall I couple? Hell! O fie!"

Hamlet, she believes, is not really so much concerned about the death of his father as he is about his own relations to Ophelia. The news of the Ghost has been a great shock to him, not because it has concerned a murder, but because it prevents his marriage. In this instant of excitement he resolves at once that marriage is impossible for him; he will not, as Shakspere so beautifully phrases it, couple. Note also the fine arrangement of the exclamations: "Hell!" followed by the climactic "O fie!"

On the basis of this change in punctuation, Miss Gilchrist erects the remainder of her interpretation of the play. And why not? For, as she says, the recognition of the faulty punctuation in the standard texts is "the one key that unlocks every difficulty in the play." All problems disappear:

"from this moment we think of Hamlet as an unhappy lover, . . . the necessity for believing Hamlet insane is removed; it is made to appear that he did fulfill his father's command *without unnecessary delay.*" (Italics Miss Gilchrist's.) I really do not know which interpretation to prefer, this or Mr. Vining's.

Both these critics have dealt with the play as a whole. Before presenting others who do the same, I should like to mention a few writers who discuss minor matters, but who themselves are hardly of minor interest. There is, for example, Herr Edwin Bormann (*Das Shakespeare Geheimniss,* Leipzig, 1894). He is my only representative from the ranks of the Baconians, not because it would be impossible to find other erratic critics there, but because one bit of his reasoning is of special interest. Bacon's hand in the play, he says, is shown by the soldier who appears in the opening scene, his name, Francisco, being formed from Francis BaCOn, and his connection with his progenitor being indicated by the fact that Bernardo says "Get thee to bed, Francisco." It seems that Bacon's mother ascribed her son's weak digestion to the fact that as a youth he did not go to bed early enough; the connection with Francisco is thus established.

I have not seen Dr. Charles Creighton's *Shakespeare's Story of His Life,* but I gather from a review of it by Constance Barnicoat in the *Gentlemen's Magazine* for November, 1904, that he believes that Ophelia was the mother of a child of which Hamlet was not the father. Miss Barnicoat offers some criticism of this interesting speculation, but on the whole she agrees with it. It is pleasant to let one's mind play with this child. He (or was it she?) is not mentioned in any *dramatis personae* of the play that I have examined. Everyone knows, however, that these lists of characters were prepared by later editors, never by Shakspere himself. If one objects that there is no reference to the child within the play, Dr. Creighton and Miss Barnicoat can, I suppose, reply that Shakspere was a man of fine feelings, that he was portraying Ophelia as a pure and sweet type of young womanhood, and that his delicacy would prevent his sullying her character. The logic of this reply would be unanswerable. The critics might also make use of a bit of evi-

dence they seem to have neglected: that the line from *As You Like It,* "mewling and puking in the nurse's arms," is presumably a misplaced stage-direction from *Hamlet.*

The Ghost is perhaps a less substantial being than Ophelia's child, but he has attracted more critical discussion. One of the most ingenious of his commentators, Mr. R. V. Subbarau, whose *'Hamlet' Unveiled* was published at Madras in 1909, seems to doubt something of both his reality and his truthfulness. Mr. Subbarau contends, however, that the Ghost had visited Hamlet's room before the fateful interview on the battlement, and that in the latter scene he sends forth "a mysterious fluid" which hypnotizes all beholders and, I suppose renders them incapable of reasoned judgment. This fluid is, of course, invisible, as it comes from a spirit (might it not be called a spirituous liquor?), and its victims are unaware of its operation. Discussions as to the Ghost, however, may be altogether pointless, that is, if one agrees with Mr. H. M. Doak, who discussed the apparition in *Shakespeariana* in 1888. Mr. Doak argues against the reality of the Ghost; he calls him "a mere materialization of a vague human belief"; the author's position, in short, appears to be that since there is no such thing as a ghost, there can not be a ghost in *Hamlet.*

I suppose every critic of *Hamlet* has been tempted to speculate, if not to believe, that the play contains some hidden meaning, that is, if not a genuine, at least a disguised allegory. It has been treated as a sort of forerunner of *The Tempest,* which lends itself more easily to this kind of interpretation. The principal trouble, however, with all attempts to discuss *Hamlet* allegorically is that no one can provide exclusive proof of his own interpretation; that is to say, many interpretations seem to fit equally well. Protestants and Catholics have both been delighted to discover that Shakspere was their ally. For example, Elisabeth Gerkrath, in *Die dramatische Meisterwerke des Protestantismus* (Berlin, 1918), declares that *Hamlet* becomes perfectly clear if one studies it in the light of religious history. "The real sense or import of this Protestant drama," she says "is Protestant morality made flesh in the ideal form of Hamlet, who, before our very eyes, wins a victory which is not only

his own but that of a new epoch over that of which Claudius and Laertes are the children."

More specifically, Herr N. Krieger finds the early history of Lutheranism in the play. Hamlet is Lutheranism (you recall that he refers to "a certain convocation of politic worms" and that Luther attended the Diet of Worms), Claudius is the Papacy, the Ghost is the spirit of Christ, Laertes is Erasmus, Horatio Melancthon, and the Poles (poor wretches) are the Devil, defeated by the elder Hamlet in "an angry parle" and newly defeated by Fortinbras. This last defeat, together with the downfall of both Lutheranism and Catholicism at the end of the play, gives the opportunity to England (symbolized by her ambassadors) to establish a new religion. This interpretation appeared in *Anglia* as recently as 1930.

But the Protestants do not have it all their own way. They have equally doughty opponents among the Catholics. Thus Father Joseph Darlington, S.J., published in the *Irish Ecclesiastical Review* in May, 1899, an article contending that Hamlet and Horatio are spokesmen of the "New Philosophy" as taught at Cambridge, which is represented by Wittenberg, as Oxford is by Paris. Shakspere gives in the play "a crushing rejoinder" to the followers of this New Philosophy. "Shakespeare, in the risen father of Hamlet, confronted the new philosophers of Cambridge . . . with the impossibility of reconciling Rationalism with Christianity."

Much more stir, however, was aroused by the vigorous argument of Herr J. Spanier's book, *Der Papist Shakespeare im Hamlet,* published in Trier in 1890. The contention is that the play is an allegorical attack by Shakspere on the Reformation. Horatio is a representative of Reformation thought; Hamlet's father is England's Catholic past; his mother is England, wedded improperly to Claudius, the representative of the Reformation. Hamlet himself stands for the youth of England, who in Shakspere's day were faced with the choice between the Catholic spirit and the Reformation. Hamlet eventually fails because he does not obey the Ghost, who is Catholic.

Probably not many persons have thought that Hamlet was a Jew, but to Herr Samuel Meisels there seems to be little

doubt that the hero is at least an embodiment of the Jewish genius (*Populär-wissenschaftliche Monatsblätter zur Belehrung über das Judentum.* 1901). "Hamlet mirrors the soul of the whole Jewish people." He is a "concentrationspunkt" of the thought and feeling, the woes and sighs of an oppressed race. So far as I know, Hamlet has not been taken to be either a negro or an Eskimo, but sooner or later someone will find significance in his "customary suits of solemn black" and in the "bitter cold" of Scene i. If so, he will have to disprove the suggestion of Herr Arthur Pfungst, who in the *Frankfurter Zeitung* for September 15, 1906, showed that Hamlet was an Indian (Asiatic), for he regards existence as suffering. According to Herr Pfungst there are also certain parallelisms between the play and the *Bhagavadgita.*

As one might expect, the psycho-analysts have laid their hands on *Hamlet.* I do not mean to ridicule in general the science (?) they practice, for I question whether many of them would subscribe to the strange conclusions to be found in Mr. N. J. Symons' article, "The Graveyard Scene in *Hamlet*" (*International Journal of Psychoanalysis.* January, 1928). Much of this article is unprintable outside a technical journal, for everything in the scene is discussed in sexual terms. I select, however, the following passages. "Before bringing forward further evidence that the skulls represent Hamlet's father, it may be pointed out that the first skull also stands for his mother." "Ophelia is also connected in [Hamlet's] unconscious with the Queen, the identification being effected partly through the repressed thought that both women were 'bitches. It is this submerged constellation operating through the unconscious identification that accounts for the reference in the Graveyard to 'my Lady Worm.' In the series, 'worm, Ophelia, Queen,' Hamlet's phantasy proceeds in schizophrenic fashion and simply equates Gertrude-Ophelia and 'worm.' " "Simply" indeed!

There is a considerable group of critics which endeavors to pluck out the heart of Hamlet's mystery by analysis of the names of the play. These scholars are not so foolish as to suppose that the play is a mere dramatic entertainment; for them the persons named Hamlet, Ophelia, Claudius, and so forth, are not fictitious but symbolic. Each character

reveals something of himself, or rather Shakspere reveals him for us by the group of letters that make up his name. Herr P. Heinrich (*Die Namen der Hamlettragödie.* Leipzig, 1904) notes that in Hamlet's song after the play-scene he refers to King Claudius as a "pajock." Most students have thought that this was the Scotch word for peacock, but to Herr Heinrich it is a rather obvious anagram on the name Jacob. And Jacob, of course, is James; therefore Claudius is King James. Other names are differently derived: Polonius comes from the Greek root "pol," which we have in "politics," the Greek "onos," meaning "ass," and the ending "-ius." He is thus Staatsesel, State-ass. (Not altogether inappropriate.) Osric's name has its origin in the Latin "os," mouth, and the root "ric," rich; the "rich-mouthed" suits so talkative a fop. Somewhat less satisfying is Herr Heinrich's suggestion that we are meant to think of Polonius' daughter as Mephist-ophelia.

But Herr Heinrich pales by comparison with an American, Mr. South G. Preston, who finds significance, not in anything so complex as a name, but in the forms of letters themselves. In *The Secret of Hamlet, Prince of Denmark,* first published in Cincinnati in 1897, and honored by a third edition in New York and London in 1901, Mr. Preston offers one of the most ingenious interpretations I have come across. (Incidentally, how is one to explain the second and third editions of this book? Though perhaps, come to think of it, they are more easily explicable than the first.) The letter *H,* it is pointed out, occurs in the names of only three of the characters of the play, Hamlet, Horatio, and Ophelia, who are thus allied. If one examines the form of a capital *H* he observes that it is composed of two vertical bars joined by one horizontal. The vertical bars suggest aspiration, and *H* is known as an aspirate. The first letter of Hamlet's name thus suggests something about his personality. The second part of his name is "am," a form of the verb "to be" (Mr. Preston does not here see any connection with the famous soliloquy). The third part is "let," meaning "hindered"; we have the word in tennis, "a let ball," and in law, "without let or hindrance." The conclusion follows: "Placing the definition of 'H', 'Am', and 'Let' together in their order,

the esoteric meaning of Hamlet is revealed, as Humanity Hindered; the Man-Hindered; and this accounts for his hesitation, inactivity, and procrastination." The word esoteric seems to be well chosen.

I come now to the last item in this strange assortment. It deserves, I think, the honor of being treated as the climax of the series. Precisely what quality the author possesses in supreme degree I can not say; within such a group as I have described, he does not perhaps stand out at all. Maybe, however, his quality is originality, for he owes nothing to those who preceded him, and, as far as I know, his influence on later Shaksperian critics has not been great. This gentleman is Mr. Mark Knights; his book *Shakespeare's "Hamlet" Interpreted: an exegesis of the first edition of 1603, and of actus primus (the prologue) of the first edition of 1623.* It was printed in London in 1893. "Only in this Eternal Now can we read Shakespeare aright," declares Mr. Knights. The statement need not worry us, for it is as clear that 1937 is as truly in the Eternal Now as was 1893. Mr. Knights performs the noteworthy service of pointing out something that had escaped the notice of all students of the play before his time. In the Folio text of *Hamlet,* by some inadvertence, the play is divided into acts and scenes only through the beginning of Act II, Scene ii. Others have regarded this as a slip; not so Mr. Knights. For him it is evidence that the play consists of only two acts, and he still further simplifies our problem by stating that we may neglect the second act. Act I is the "Index" to the play, "is, in fact, complete in itself, as it concludes with the Victory of Faith.." It is extraordinary that no one had noticed this before. The interpretation of Act I provided by our author is a little difficult to follow, for, instead of referring to the characters by their names, he uses the abstract qualities of which they are one and all incarnations. Thus Bernardo is Desire, Francisco is Peace, Claudius is "Thought of the Natural Understanding," Polonius is Memory, Horatio is Reason (by the delightful etymology of *ho* + *ratio*), and Hamlet is *Little Faith.* Of course, the perfect fitness of these identifications minimizes somewhat the task of following the exegesis, but I am not sufficiently sure of myself to attempt to reproduce it. I can say only that no reader can

fail to be struck by the original ideas he will find in Mr. Knights' work. One of the most noteworthy is the contention that the play referred to by Hamlet as having been "caviare to the general" was *The Taming of the Shrew.* If one is momentarily nonplussed at the suggestion he will not be more dismayed when Mr. Knights establishes the idea by pointing out that it is the same play which is later spoken of as *The Mouse-Trap* and that a fieldmouse is called a shrew. The most valuable advice given to would-be interpreters of *Hamlet* is that "those who would pluck out the heart of *Hamlet's* mystery must know the meaning of these words, 'And there shall be no sign given to thee but the sign of Jonah the prophet.' " If one is bewildered in trying to see the connection between *Hamlet* and the Book of Jonah he has only himself to blame. Surely Shakspere has made it plain enough. Did he not make Hamlet show Polonius a cloud shaped like a whale? I dare say that Mr. Knights is the only one who has seen the significance of this allusion.

As I said at the outset, I am impressed with the fact that almost anything can attain the dignity of print. But I am impressed also with a thought which can most pleasantly be rendered in the words of Mr. A. E. Gibson (in *Arena,* Boston, April, 1903): "As the ocean, which in its deeper parts floats mighty ironclads with playful ease, is yet shallow and calm enough at its shores to serve as bath-tub for an infant, so the fathomless range of Hamlet's mind presents subject-matter for all levels of human thought and emotion."

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"AS HEART CAN THINK"

By RUTH L. ANDERSON

THEORIES of the past regarding the activity of the soul are largely material and physiological. They describe a series of close correspondences between the soul and the body, particularly between the soul and its three principal organs—the liver, the heart, and the brain. These discarded theories have been for the most part forgotten, but they have left their imprint in literature to such an extent that frequently the exact meaning of passages is hidden. The present study concerns the heart and its relation to thought processes, as this relation is explained in treatises based upon the old faculty psychology and a belief in elements, humors and temperament. It aims to clarify passages in Shakspere which associate the heart with thought.

In the physchology of Aristotle the heart is described as the physiological and psychological center of man. It is the origin of nutrition, vital heat, and sensation.[1] The brain is bloodless and cold. Blood and warm vapors rising from the heart to the brain are cooled, and in descending they cool the heart. The chief function of the brain is thus to regulate the temperature of the heart. In all "sanguineous animals" the heart is the dominating organ of sensation, for the "common sense," which serves all the special senses, must be situated there. The channels of taste and touch lead manifestly to the heart; what is true of these must be true of the other senses. Besides, if the life-principle is situated in the heart, the sensory principle must also be situated there.

The majority of the Stoics agree with Aristotle in considering the breast the seat of the soul. They argue that the throat is the pathway of the *Logos;* it comes up from the breast. The soul has no parts. It emanates from its central position, and its activity varies according to the nature of the organs employed. Reason, the main faculty of the soul, resides in the heart; from the heart runs the streams of the senses. The pneumatists in many respects accepted Stoic

[1]For Aristotle, sensation possesses power of discrimination, of co-ordinating impressions, of extracting the universal from the particular; it is essentially reason. See *De Juvent.,* 469 a, 7-9.

theory. Athenæus, the chief writer of the group, states that an organism is made a living unity by *pneuma*. *Pneuma* and natural heat are centered in the heart; the ruling power of the soul, also, is located there. According to Epicurean doctrine, the soul is corporeal. It has two parts, an irrational part diffused through the body and a rational part in the breast. Lucretius states the doctrine thus: "Next, I say that mind and spirit are held in conjunction together and compound one nature in common, but that the head so to speak and lord over the whole body is the understanding which we call mind and intelligence. And this has its abiding-place in the middle region of the breast. For in this place throbs terror and fear, hereabouts is melting joy: here therefore is the intelligence and the mind. The rest of the spirit, dispersed abroad through the whole body, obeys and is moved according to the will and working of the intelligence."[2] Alexander of Aphrodisias (A. D. 200) places the seat of reason in the heart; so also does Alfred of Sereshel, an Englishman who died in 1217.

There were in early times two principal theories regarding the psysiological seat of the soul. The one, that mental faculties reside in the heart, derived authority from Aristotle; the other, that mental faculties reside in the brain, derived authority from Plato and Galen. Aristotle based his conclusion largely upon the central position of the heart, upon its apparent connection with blood, and upon the relationship between speech (the voice of reason) and the chest. Plato argued in terms of correspondences between the microcosm and the macrocosm. The three regions of the body are like three realms of the universe. The head, being spherical, is like the vaulted heaven. It must house the noblest faculties of the soul.

Plato's theory gradually dominated thought, but the other was so persistent in influence that writers refer to it as late as the Renaisance period in England and sometimes advance arguments to disprove it. Helkiah Crooke points out that anatomy shows the brain to be the original of sinews.[3] He

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[2]*De Rerum Natura,* H. D. Rouse, tr., *Loeb Cl. Library,* III, p. 181.

[3]*Microcosmography, London,* 1615, p. 334. The word sinews as used here is synonymous with nerves. The sinews carry animal spirits, a subtle substance by means of which the soul performs operations of sense and motion.

then seeks support from Aristotle in the statement that the original of the sinews is common sense. The brain must therefore be the seat of the sensitive and the rational faculties of the soul.[4] Charron,[5] Huarte,[6] and Burton[7] record the belief that the reasonable soul dwells in the heart. With brief argument, they conclude that the brain is the instrument of reason. Batman,[8] Ferrand,[9], and Crooke,[10] in discussing the organs of the body, preserve an old Latin proverb naming the heart as the seat of wisdom. The following is Crooke's translation:

> The seat of wisdome is the Heart, the Lungs our tongues doe move;
> The Gall our Rage, the Spleen our Mirth, the Liver holds our Love.

I have not found the origin of these proverbial lines. Together with argument against the belief that mental faculties dwell in the heart, they seem to indicate that during the Renaissance this belief was current as a popular conception.

Though they regarded the brain as the seat of reason, scientists of the period agreed that the heart may exercise a very direct and important influence upon thought. According to the old faculty psychology generally accepted, the soul performs all its functions by means of spirits, an invisible substance arising first in the liver as vegetal spirits that enable the soul to perform the elemental functions of the body. Spirits reaching the heart undergo further refinement. A heart that is well tempered will produce excellent vital spirits for pulsation and other proceses of the body. Vital spirits in the brain become animal spirits—the instruments of thought. A good heart may thus be said to make the wit (or mental processes) "sharpe and quicke sighted" by sending well-tempered vital spirits to the brain. The heart is the seat of the affections. It is thus at all times in close communication with thought. The affections rise only in response to a message from the brain. Once being called

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[4]The older psychology represents three souls of man or three groups of faculties of one soul: the vegetal, the sensitive, and the rational. The last two are concerned with thought processes.

[5]*Of Wisdom,* London, 1697, Vol. I, pp. 43, 110.

[6]*Examen de Ingenios, the Examination of Mens Wits,* London, 1596, p. 24.

[7]*The Anatomy of Melancholy,* London, 1621, I, i, 7-10.

[8]*Batman vppon Bartholome, his Booke De Proprietatibus Rerum,* London, 1582, p. 41.

[9]*A Treatise Discoursing of the Essence . . . of Love or Erotique Melancholy,* London, 1645, pp. 70-71.

[10]*Op. cit.,* p. 137.

forth, they may co-operate with rationality, or, if they become intense, they may gain control over it. Their power in this respect is effective, because they are accompanied by physiological changes which, upon reaching the brain, effect the subtlety of the animal spirits, by which thought is made possible.

According to theories discussed in treatises of the Renaissance, (1) the heart may be the seat of mental processes; (2) as the shop of vital spirits it may, through the quality of spirits sent to the brain, serve to quicken or to dull the intellect; (3) as the seat of the affections it may (a) co-operate with mental processes by releasing appropriate affective responses; (b) blunt them by failing to yield appropriate responses; or (c) gain control over them and so actually direct thought. Since the passions cause physiological changes in the heart and also, as they rise, in the brain, (3) and (2) are not at all points separable, but (3) implies that by virtue of its being the seat of the affections as well as the shop of vital spirits, the heart exercises a special and varying influence upon the instruments of thought and so upon thought itself.

In Shakspere, the expression "as heart can think"[11] represents a survival of the belief that the reasonable soul dwells in the heart. Together with similar passages,[12] it shows how an idea persists in speech even after it has been discredited. Man still learns "by heart." There is trace, too, of the Aristotelian belief that the heart is the seat of reason because voice seems to come from the chest, where the heart is located:

> . . . as low as to thy heart,
> Through the false passage of thy throat, thou liest.—
> *Richard II,* I, i, 124-125.

> I did never know so full a voice issue from so empty a heart.—
> *Henry V,* IV, iv, 72.

And the old belief in the importance of the composition or temper of the heart in relation to thought and action appears repeatedly in lines which characterize the heart as flinty, hard, or soft.

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[11] *1 Henry IV,* IV, i, 84; *Richard III,* I, ii, 83; *Troilus and Cressida,* IV, i, 13; etc.
[12] *Macbeth,* II iii, 69; *Much Ado,* III, iv, 85; *J. Caesar,* V, i, 45; etc.

A number of passages are based on the idea that the heart, being the seat of the affections, influences thought. Lear foresees the danger in physiological accompaniments of passion rising from the heart to the brain and so disturbing reason, when he says,

> O me, my heart, my rising heart! but down!—
> *King Lear,* II, iv, 122.

Sane thinking—thinking which represents the normal individual—necessitates the co-operation of heart and head. It follows that by control of affection the heart should serve as guide to thought. This relationship is stated in the old fable of the microcosm made use of in *Coriolanus*[13]—the "counselor heart" should advise reason as counselors of state advise a king. It must even at times withhold affective response, and so restrain the individual who is about to engage in some doubtful enterprise.[14] Blood—heart or affection—and judgment must be properly "commingled" if man is to succeed. But the heart does not always remain merely counselor; it may assume control over reason. The heart in its affective states may be eased—but at hazard of the head. With a heart unapt, therefore, one needs a brain to lead one's use of emotion to "better vantage."[15]

Macbeth is probably aware of the extent to which the heart can influence thought when, in writing to his wife of the first prophecy of the witches, he adds, "Lay it to thy heart." Back of his later resolve to make the "'firstlings" of his heart the "firstlings" of his hand lies the Elizabethan belief that the passions reside in the heart, that the heart may therefore determine our lives, and that when it does so, whatever the heart in its affective capacity dictates is judged by the reason as right. In *Richard III,* then, the command, "Dive, thoughts, down to my soul,"[16] indicates that Richard willingly permits thought to be guided by heart. To Othello's statement, "I'l know thy thoughts," Iago replies,

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[13]III, ii, 29. Cf. *Much Ado,* IV, i, 103.
[14]See *Macbeth,* V, iii, 13-14
[15]See *1 Henry IV,* I, iii, 127-128; *Coriolanus,* III, ii, 30-31, *Antony and Cleopatra,* III, iii, 110 ff. and 196-198.
[16]I, i, 41.

> You cannot, if my heart were in your hand.—
> *Othello,* III, iii, 162.

Since mental images are both formed and stored in the brain, why does he not say "brain"? Is the heart, as seat of the affections, a better mirror of what is in the brain than the brain itself? Seemingly the passage is in line with the references of Macbeth and of Richard to heart. It implies that for Iago—as for Macbeth and for Richard III—heart determines thought and that for him to know what is in the heart is to know what is in the brain.[17] Tragic heroes, on the other hand, struggle against the dominance of reason by the heart, though they eventualy become victims of uncontrolled states of heart.

Another interesting passage linking the heart with thought appears in *Troilus and Cressida.* Cressida says to Troilus that in their love she sees more dregs than water—if her fears have eyes. Troilus answers that fears never see truly. Cressida continues: "Blind fear, that seeing reason leads, finds safer footing than blind reason stumbling without fear."[18] The affections, according to Elizabethan thinking, are blind. Blind fear, led by seeing reason, is certainly on safer footing than blind reason stumbling without fear—reason can be blinded only by sensitive faculties (imagination and passions). Cressida implies that there is a right relationship between her expressed fear and reason and also that since Troilus discredits fear his reason is blinded by his love. Troilus has already on earlier occasion spoken against the authority of reason:

> Manhood and honour
> should have hare hearts, would they but fat their thoughts
> With this cramm'd reason. . . .—II, ii, 49.

His actions illustrate the power of the heart to control thoughts through release of passion. It is in this capacity, obviously, that the heart becomes significant in essential concepts of numerous characters in Shakspere's plays.[19]

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[17]Note Iago's earlier words to Roderigo: I, i, 61-65.
[18]III, ii, 76.
[19]See my work, *Elizabethan Psychology and Shakespeare's Plays,* Ch. IX; Campbell, Lily B., *Shakespeare's Tragic Heroes,* Chs. XII-XVII.

ADDITIONS TO

*CHRISTOPHER MARLOWE: A CONCISE BIBLIOGRAPHY**

By SAMUEL A. TANNENBAUM

*A reprint of this list of additions to my Marlowe bibliography will be sent upon request (and the payment of 10 cents to cover mailing expenses) to those who have subscribed to the book. For some of these items I am indebted to Professor George C. Taylor, to Mr. M. H. Spielmann, and to Dr. Perkinson.

112a *Dr. Faustus*—R: M. Stauffer ed—*The Progress of Drama Through the Centuries* (N. Y. 1927)

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201a *The atheist's tragedie*—J. P. Collier ed—*New Particulars regarding the Works of Wm. Sh.* (Ln 1836) pp 47-48

276a *The passionate shepherd to his love*—W. C. Bryant ed—*The Family Libr of Poetry & Song* (N. Y. 1886) p. 104.+

277b ——— — A: Repplier ed—*A Book of Famous Verse* (Bn 1895) pp 65-66

277c ——— —L. Rossi & E. M. Courbould edd—*Side-Lights on Sh*

280a ——— — E. Mutton ed—*A Book of Engl Love Poems* (Ln 1905) p 45

283a ——— —N. Ault ed—*Eliz'n Lyrics* (Ln 1925) pp 129-30

283b *Le berger a la bergère*—E. Legouis tr—*Dans les Sentiers de la Renaissance anglaise* (Paris 1925) pp 39-41

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284a ——— — G. Bullett ed—*The Galaxy of Shorter Poems* (N. Y. 1934) p 118

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311a Three selections fr C. M.—W. T. Young ed—*An Anthology of the Poetry of the Age of Sh* (Cambr 1910) pp 90-92, 220-23

313a Selections fr C. M.—R. F. Patterson ed—*Six Centuries of Engl Lit* (Ln 1938) 2: 34-48.

325a Come live with me [Words & mus]—A. Moffat ed—*The Minstrelsy of England* (Ln 1901) p 216

326a *Come live with me* [Words & mus]—E. Duncan ed—*The Minstrelsy of England* (Ln 1905-09) 2: 68

326b ———[Words & mus]—V. Jackson ed—*Engl Melodies fr the 13th to the 18th Century* (Ln 1910) pp 50-51 (with comment)

380a C.M.—A. Akerlund—*On the History of the Definite Tenses in English* (Cambr 1911) *passim*

380b C. M. [*poem*]—*D. Ainslee—English R* 41: 578 Oct. 1925

382a C.M.—R. M. Alden—*The Rise of Formal Satire in England* (Phila 1899) *passim*

414a C. M.—H: C. Bartlett—*Master Wm. Sh.* (New Haven 1922) pp 112-15 etc.

421b *Tamburlaine* and N. Rowe's *Tamerlane*—A. Behrend—*N. Rowe als Dramatiker* (Leipzig 1907) pp 23-26

549a Das angeblich älteste Lateinische Faust-Drama: eine Mystifikation—E. Castle—*Theater u Welt* 1: 51-56 Jan 1937

568a Prevailing types of women in Engl comedy to 1640 [Abstr of thesis]—M: Chreitzberg—*U of N. C. Record* Oct 1928 pp 49-50

583b C.M.—J. P. Collier—*A Catalogue . . . of Early Engl Lit* (Ln 1837) pp 188-91 etc

600a *Sh: A play in 4 Acts & an Epilogue* [Unpublished]—L. Cowen & H: Gingold—N.p [19—] pp 88 (C. M. is one of the characters. In Mr. M. H. Spielmann's collection)

630a *Ha-Yehudi be-sifrut haanglit* [Essay in Hebrew on *The Jew of Malta;* selections in Hebr]—I. Davidson—N. Y. 1895 pp 16.+

659a C. M.—J. Duboc—*Die Tragic vom Standpunkt d Optimismus* (Hamburg 1886) pp 116-17

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716a *To the Sun* [A novel]—A. E. Fisher—N. Y. 1929 pp vi 374 (C. M. is one of the characters)

739a C. M.—W. P. Friederick—*Spiritualismus u Sensualismus in d engl Barocklyrik* (Wien 1932) *passim*

775b C. M.—W. W. Greg—*A List of Engl Plays Written before 1643* (Ln 1900) pp 66-69

793a C. M.—E. G. Harman—*G. Harvey & T. Nashe* (Ln 1923) *passim*

810b C. M.—W. C. Hazlitt—*Collections & Notes* (Ln 1876) p. 278

815a *And Morning in His Eyes: A Book about C. M.*—P. Henderson—Ln 1937.—*TLS* Oct. 2, 1937 p 710

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867a *Faustus* produced in N. Y.—E: J. R. Isaacs—*Theatre Arts Monthly* 21: 184-85 Mar 1937 (and see N. Y. newspapers)

868a J. Bakeless's *C. M.*—M. P. Jack—*N. Y. Times Book R* Nov. 14, 1937 p 11

873a *This Side Idolatry* [An unpub'd play, in 7 scenes]—T. Jennings—1935 (C. M. is one of the *dram. pers.*)

876a C. M.—J. C. Jordan—*R. Greene* (N. Y. 1915) pp 190-96

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904a *Sh: Ein Winternachtstraum (Dramat. Gedicht)*—K. Goesting—Wiesbaden 1864 pp 152 (C. M. is one of the *dram. per.*)

927a C. M.'s treatment of the Venus & Adonis story—S. L. Lee—In his facs ed'n of *Sh's 'Venus & Adonis'* (Cambr 1905) pp 31-32

934a *'The Jew of Malta'*—H. Levi—*Jewish Characters in Fiction* (Phila 1911 ed'n 2) pp 10-19

961a *To Kill the Queen (A Pageant Play in 3 Acts)*—L. R. McColvin—Ln 1931 pp xii 56 (C. M. is one of the *dram. pers.*)

988a *'Dr. Faustus'* [The story of the play]—L. Melitz—*Die Theaterstücke d Weltliteratur* (Berlin n.d. ed'n 3) pp 298-99

1003a C. M.—V: Miller—*Terminology of supernatural beings in Chapman, Daniel, Drayton, C. M., and Spenser* (Abstr in *U of N C Record* Oct 1934 p 45)

1023a *'Edward II'*—K. Muir & S. O'Loughlin—*The Voyage to Illyria* (Ln 1937) pp 94-96

1029a C. M.—J. Naumann—*Die Geschmacksrichtungen im engl Drama bis z Schliessung d Theater* (Rostock 1900) pp 28-35 etc.

1040*a* *Faustus* [*Dialogue in verse*]—C. Norman—*Theatre Arts M* 14: 309-12 Apr 1930

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1104a Some legal elements in Eliz'n plays—H. Ransom—*U of Texas B* July 1936 pp 53-76

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1381a C. M. & the Ralegh circle [MS. thesis, 1930]—A. L. Williams—U of N. C. Libr., pp. 82

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COMMUNICATIONS

Editor of the BULLETIN,
Dear Sir:

Because of your interest in activities, plans, or hopes related in various ways to Shakspere and his works, I am taking the liberty of sending you this letter-announcement. Parts of it have been taken or adapted from tentative surveys or reports relating to past or possible future recovery programs including national plans for the arts. This announcement is primarily concerned with ENDOWED EDUCATIONAL SHAKSPERE CENTERS FOR AMERICA.

When, some years ago, there was an acceleration of interest in establishing a Shakspere Memorial Theatre at Stratford-upon-Avon, it happened to coincide with certain American activities (The Shakspere Memorial Fund, 1927) which were begun at a time when many Americans were enjoying a period of comparative affluence; many Americans then took a substantial financial part in furthering the idea, ideal, and the ultimate activity which was to radiate so worthily in and from such a theatre. It was not only natural, but necessary that American contributions for a British memorial fund should be raised through private sources.

It was an auspicious time for Sir Archibald and Lady Flower to begin in New York the American part of their memorable work. Since then at Stratford-upon-Avon thousands upon thousands of American tourists and students have enjoyed and will continue to enjoy the unique results of that undertaking. The international interest aroused by the Stratford-upon-Avon and the London Old Vic-Sadler's Wells centers surely greatly encourages long-standing desires for the endowment of American Educational Shakspere Centers having equivalent though not necessarily identical national and international values. And so, after a drab period of economic depression, recently followed by a happy revival of Elizabethan drama, we find the time auspicious for New World efforts, efforts hich should lead to unique American results. Many people are still out of work, and work connected with the art education of a nation becomes a national cause rather than an idle vision of a few dreamers.

The Shakspere period, and everything relating thereto, forms a valuable point from which to work back toward the beginning of many subjects and from which to work forward and into modern periods. We could have wax or other models, working backward or forward from the Shakspere period, showing tendencies and varieties in architecture, painting, sculpture, costuming, customs, printing; a library containing phonographic records indicating sound-changes of different periods, and recording the elocution of actors, etc.; period buildings to house permanent and traveling exhibits, the attendants in the various rooms wearing period costumes; a motion and talking picture library; a theatre and a dramatic school connected therewith or incorporated therein. These and many other plans should be worked out. It may not greatly matter whether it is decided to concentrate efforts on the endowment of Shakspere Theatre Centers, or Shakspere-Theatre-Units within endowed theatre centers giving experimental opportunities to the furtherance of classic drama as well as of modern drama; what will matter is the essential nature and possible per-

manence of national educational opportunities offered in such centers. It might perhaps be well to begin in New York with a primary center having a summer branch in a place as wonderfully suited for the purpose as is Lenox, Massachusetts. It should by no means be considered a vague dream to plan for a center in each state. It is a practical educational project which should have a distinguished place in a ten-year government program for the national promotion of the arts. This is not suggesting that we should have a Federal Department of Education which might acquire power to control the policies of education. It is of the utmost importance to maintain the freedom of the theatre and other arts, freedom of state- as well as privately-supported colleges and universities, and freedom from political interference, freedom from any temporary or permanent government control. On the other hand, if government help is desired for such projects, it would be useless to submit bills to Congress for the arts if they do not provide for appropriations.

The *DeWitt Center for Oral Arts and for Authors* is interested in theatre problems. But Shaksperian interests are usually so extensive that the Center prefers to concentrate these interests under the heading of *Extensions of Shakspere's Demesne.* The term is used in its figurative sense of stimulating interest for the eventual extension—in all directions—of the scope, power and influence and thought of Shakspere and of his period. To further this idea for the national promotion of art education on a historic basis has been one of the primary objectives of the Center. The Center has the privilege of meeting in the Historic Art Galleries—now so conveniently located in the Astor Hotel—which have already dedicated a corner to Shakspere.

To begin with—until further notice,—there will be allotted to Shakspere a period at the Center's General Monthly Meeting held on the first Saturday of each month. This plan will be followed until such a substantial interest has been built up that it will be feasible to coordinate the Shakspere interests of the Center with an activity devoted solely to such interests. (These meetings will be held the first Friday evening of each month.) Ideas, suggestions, and possible plans will be announced or/ and/ discussed from time to time. Some ideas have already been presented to associates of the National Arts Council, with the suggestion that they be incorporated in the ten-year program fo the arts of our nation. The program of the Council already includes a plan to work for the establishment of an opera house in every State and in the District of Columbia. Since several members of this Council were among the initial contributors to the Shakspere Memorial Fund, it would easily be possible to discuss matters in the light of previous experience. During the summer additional collaboration will be obtained through the third Congress of American Poets —which convenes annually June 14. (It holds its Friday, Saturday and Sunday afternoon and evening meetings in the Galleries each week-end until October 12.)

It is hoped that many who are interested in the national art educational phase of our program will come to our meetings with ideas and suggestions which may then be communicated to the Historic Arts Association, the National Arts Council, and to the National Recovery Council for purposes of permanent filing. The last has already on file a tentative, informal survey relating to recovery and national art programs.

I sincerely hope that members of the Shakespeare Association of Amer-

ica, Inc., will attend the meetings and I hope that your organization will cooperate with us in this great cause.

Sincerely yours,

MARGUERITE E. DEWITT,
Member of Council, World Economic & Monetary Conference.

Editor, Shakespeare Association Bulletin,

Sir:

My article, "Recurrent Poetic Theme", which appeared in the July, 1937, issue of the BULLETIN, elicited some remarks (in letters sent me) from several noted scholars, among them Professor Frederick C. Presscott of Cornell, and Professor Gilbert Chinard of Princeton. Both were kind enough to communicate to me further parallels to the passage which I quoted from *Richard III* and to the sonnet from Ronsard's *Amours.*

Dr. Prescott suggested the following lines from Landor's *Lyrics and Epigrams:*

> Proud word you never spoke, but you will speak
> Four not exempt from pride some future day.
> Resting on one white hand a warm wet cheek
> Over my open volume, you will say,
> "This man loved *me,*" then rise and trip away.

And Dr. Chinard called my attention to Baudelaire's *Une charogne,* in which we get the morbid phase of the same theme:

> Rappelez-vous l'objet que nous vimes, mon âme,
> . . . . . .
> Oui! telle vous serez, ô la reine des grâces
> Après les derniers sacrements,
> . . . . . .
> Alors, ô ma beauté! dites à la vermine
> Qui vous mangera de baisers,
> Que j'ai gardé la forme et l'essence divine
> De mes amours décomposés!

To the above parallels—for which I am most grateful—I now wish to add this one from the Comtesse de Noailles' poem entitled "J'écris pour que le jour où je ne serai plus":

> J'ecris pour que, le jour où je ne serai plus,
> On sache comme l'air et le plaisir m'ont plu,
> Et que mon livre port à la foule future,
> Comme j'aimais la vie et l'heureuse nature.
> J'ai did ce que j'ai vu et ce que j'ai senti,
> . . . . . .
> Pour être aprés la mort parfois encore aimée,
> Et qu'un jeune homme alors, lisant ce que j'écris,
> Sentant par moi son cœur,ému, troublé, surpris,
> Ayant tout oublié des épouses, réelles,
> M'accueille dans son âme et me préfères à elles.

MAX I. BAYM.

Hunter College
New York.

DESIGN

A book of rather novel kind and one to be highly recommended is Dr. Arthur H. R. Fairchild's dissertation on *Shakspeare and the Arts of Design,* which constitutes one of the noteworthy *Studies* of the University of Missouri (210 pages, for $1.25). The book discusses architecture, sculpture, and painting (including portraits) from points of view interesting to Shaksperian scholars. One chapter in the book—the one on painting and Shakspere's treatment of pity—appears to us to be of doubtful value; the author is not a psychologist. The index, though apparently very comprehensive, is really not so—which is a pity.

EDITORIAL NOTES AND COMMENTS

By S. A. T.

SHAKSPERE CLUBS

One of the things we have long wished to have is a list of all the Shakspere clubs and associations in America. Such a list would be of great value to publishers and cinema producers. It would enable members of Shakspere study clubs to be informed of many activities of Shaksperian interest. We therefore take this means of asking our members and others to send us the name and address of any Shakspere clubs they happen to know of, giving us, if possible, the name of the president and (or) the secretary.

A NEW PERIODICAL

The need for facilities for the publication of the result of critical and scholarly research is so great that we welcome with wide open arms the new *Huntington Library Quarterly* (San Marino, California), the first issue of which has just reached us. This magazine, an octavo of 134 pages, beautifully printed, replaces the now discontinued *Huntington Library Bulletin,* of which only eleven numbers had been issued. The new magazine, with its more convenient format, will continue to publish the results of researches at the Huntington Library but will pay more attention than heretofore to bibliographiies and bibliographical listst. (Single numbers will cost $1.50; annual subscriptions, $5.) The first issue contains several interesting contributions, the most notable being Dr. Louis B. Wright's "The 'Gentleman's Library' in Early Virginia."

Speaking of the Huntington Library gives us the opportunity to bring to the notice of our members a very valuable service being rendered by this library in publishing beautifully printed and bound facsimiles of some of the most precious treasures housed within its walls. The most recent of these is Nicholas Breton's *The Arbour of Amorous Devices* (1597), which is provided with an invaluable introduction by the distinguished and indefatigable Professor Hyder E. Rollins of Harvard University. Of this book only 330 copies have been printed in collotype facsimile and may be had for $3. Other books in the series are Breton's *Bowre of Delights* (1591), with an introduction by Dr. Rollins; Wager's *Enough's as Good as a Feast* (*c.* 1565), Medwell's *Fulgens and Lucres,* Goldsmith's *The Grumbler,* Wyat's translation of Plutarch's *Quyete of Mynde* (1528), a facsimile of the *Hamlet* first quarto, and several other dainties. We advise librarians and collectors not to lose the opportunity to provide themselves with these very desirable items before they have to pay advanced prices for them.

CHOICE BOOKS

Two of the choicest little books we have seen recently are the output of Mr. Basil Blackwell of Oxford (49 Broad Street), England. One is entitled *Songs & Lyrics by Ben Jonson* (32 pages); the other is a reprint of *The Phoenix & Turtle* (pp. xxiv, 30). Both are edited by Mr. Bernard H. Newdigate, the latter with a scholarly introduction and annotations of great value to those interested in Shakspere, Jonson, and the mystery investing the "Phoenix and the Turtle." In the *Songs & Lyrics* we are presented with a well-executed frontispiece portrait of Jonson from the original now in

the National Portrait Gallery. In the second of these exquisitely printed books the frontispiece shows us the portrait of Lucy, Countess of Bedford, from the original at Woburn Abby. The books are published at the ridiculously low price of 2s. 6d.

FREUDISM AND SHAKSPERE

A book with which we have little sympathy is Mr. J. H. Brock's *Iago & Some* [other] *Shakespearean Villains*. It is published for only 2s. 6d. by W. Heffer & Sons of Cambridge, England, and consists of only some 48 pages. Notwithstanding its diminutive bulk, there is enough matter to quarrel with in this pamphlet. The author, it seems, has discovered Freud and has discovered, too, that there is such a thing as sadism in the world. He therefore proceeds to prove that Iago can be explained only on the theory that he is a sadist, a sexual pervert, who is driven to satisfy his unconscious sadistic urge by driving Othello to strangle and suffocate Desdemona—"strangulation and suffocation being favourite methods of murder with these perverts." Additional proof of his sadistic urge is found in the fact that Iago goes to see Roderigo's wound dressed "that he might regale himself with the pleasure of looking at a bleeding wound." By this kind of logic Othello, too, must be a sadist; does he not vehemently cry for "blood, blood, blood!"? Consider, too, that it is he who does the strangling. If this does not prove him a cannibal, there is no force in logic.* And may we instruct our readers that the psycho-analysts long ago proved Desdemona a sado-masochist? Did she not bring destruction on herself by marrying a negro, a thing she feared to look on, and did she not quake most when she loved him most? And yet a distinguished professor of English literature insists that Shakspere was not interested in psychology.

To be perfectly fair to Mr. Brock we shall give our readers a taste of his quality as critic and scholar. On pages 9-10 of his little book he "lays stress" on the fact that to Iago "love" and "lust" are synonymous and that the latter word is "not employed by any other person in the play." He goes on to suggest that by so restricting the use of the word, Shakspere wished to give it a sinister meaning (as in *Sonnet 129*). How utterly fallacious and misleading all this is may be judged from the fact, which a consultation of a *Concordance* will verify, that Iago is *not* the only one in the play to use the word "lust." Othello says, "What sense had I of her stol'n hours of lust?" and "Thy bed, lust-stained, shall with lust's blood be spotted."

PLAYING CARDS

One of the most charming things recently "published" is a set of very fine playing cards in which the court cards are characters from Shakspere's plays properly costumed and bejewelled. Each of these cards has a quotation fitting the character and chosen from the play in which he appears. The designer is a distinguished English artist, Mr. F. C. Tilney. The set, sold for 10s., is distributed in an artistic paper box which looks well on the card table.

* And what are we to think of the savage Hamlet who goes to his mother's (!) closet in a mood to "drink hot blood" and whose thoughts are "nothing worth" if they are not "bloody"? It is too terrible to think.